The Social and Spatial Impact of Settlement Policies

in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

A study submitted in fulfilment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at

The University of Sheffield

by

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November 1999

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Abstract

As a multiracial country, one of the main concerns of Malaysia is maintaining political and economic stability in the process of achieving national integration. The plurality of society is a legacy of British colonialism and has contributed to occupational and geographical segregation between the ethnic groups. Economic disparities between each ethnic group has been a source of ethnic conflict. In 1970, the Government formulated the New Economic Policy, a preferential treatment policy which favours the Bumiputera over the non -Bumiputera. The objectives of the policy are, first, to restructure society so as to eliminate the identification of race with economic functions and, second, to eradicate poverty. However, while the Bumiputeras benefited from the affirmative action programmes, the non-Bumiputeras, especially the Chinese, were alienated by them and this lead to rising ethnic tension. Residential segregation had divided the two ethnic groups further.

One part of the New Economic Policy is designed to foster better social relations between ethnic groups by fostering greater ethnic mix within residential areas. The aim of this study is to investigate social interaction patterns and levels of integration between Malays and Chinese who reside in different types of residential areas, that is mixed and monoethnic. The implementation of the housing mix policy is interpreted as the Government's intention to overcome residential segregation and thereby integrate different ethnic groups. The policy is one of the ways of bringing the two ethnic groups into closer contact with each other in the hope of promoting better social interaction and integration.

The first task of the research was to establish the rationale behind the policy on residential and ethnic mix and secondly to find out if there were any significant differences in the form of socialising patterns and integration levels between the ethnic groups residing in different types of residential areas. The study involved the use of interviews and social survey as methods of gathering information. Kuala Lumpur, the capital city of Malaysia was chosen as the case study because it represented the plurality in society. Surveys were carried out in residential areas that were both ethnically mixed and monoethnic.

The findings of the study suggested that there are differences in social relationships and levels of integration between Malays and Chinese who live in the different types of residential areas. Those who lived in mixed areas were found to be more socialised and more integrated than those who lived in monoethnic areas. However, the effect of the types of area was not strong as a determinant of social interaction and integration and other non spatial factors were more important. Factors like socialising patterns and place of employment also explained social interaction and integration. Those who socialised with other ethnic groups were found to be more integrated than those who did not. Malays were also more integrated than non-Malays. The study also found differences in gender and age. Although there was an area effect, it was not the same for Malays and Chinese from different income groups and educational levels. The findings have important policy implications.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Key Points

The objective of the research is to investigate the effect of living in mixed residential areas on the social interaction patterns and the level of integration between Malays and Chinese in Kuala Lumpur, the capital city of Malaysia. For the purpose of this research, social interaction is defined as a process of communication between individuals (behaviour) and integration is defined as a social condition which involved the process of social relations that affects attitudes. The focus of this research will be on whether Malays and Chinese residing in different types of residential areas (mixed and monoethnic) showed different patterns of social interaction and levels of integration.

The aim of this chapter is introduce the reader to the broad framework of the research. It begins by providing an overall view of the concept of nationhood and national integration in Malaysia. Nationhood and national integration are integral parts of the development in Malaysia, which is a multiracial country. The plurality of the society which was the result of the policy of divide and rule during the colonial period has influenced the relationship between ethnic groups in Malaysia and the emphasis on national integration has been important to ensure political and racial stability.

1.0 Introduction

Malaysia is a plural society. The plural society was the result of colonisation in the 18th century when the expansion of global capitalist system and foreign trade required an increase in the supply of labour which lead to immigration of cheap labours from India and China. As a multicultural society, there are bound to be conflicts among the different groups due to the wide differences in terms of culture and religion. It was not until the racial riots of 1969 that the problems of inequality between the different ethnic groups became apparent. The success of the Alliance Party (the coalition of the Malay based political party-United Malay National Organisation, Chinese based political party - Malayan Chinese Association and Indian based political party-Malayan Indian Congress) in the 1955 general election helped the country to achieve its independence in 1957. Since then, the focus of the government was to strengthen the economic base of the country. However, during the 1969 general election, communal tensions were raised when ethnic issues like the indecisiveness of the Alliance government to implement the language and education policy became predominant in the election campaigns. Since then, the government has become more aware than before that disparities (social and economic) between the different ethnic groups, chiefly Chinese and Malays, had led to feelings of dissatisfaction and discontentment on the part of the Malays (Wan Hashim,1981).

Economic disparities are said to be the major underlying reason behind the conflicts between the two principal racial groups (Lim,1980, Sundaram,1989). This is because in the past these two groups were linked to the different economic sectors. Historically, the Chinese community has mostly been involved in the commercial sector and mostly located within the urban centres, whereas the Malays had always been involved in the agricultural sector and mostly in the rural areas. Hence cities in Malaysia have always been the domain of the Chinese. At the inception of British rule, the economy of Malaya was still largely depended upon subsistence agriculture. The

plentiful access to land and other resources had discouraged Malays to hire themselves out as labourers. They refused to become wage labourers because of the harsh working conditions in the plantations and the tin mines. The expansion of the capitalist system in the mid 19th century transformed the colonised economy from producing for domestic consumption to producing for export. Thus it was necessary to increase the supply of labour. The supply of labour was obtained from other parts of the world. Hence, there was a movement of labour from China and India into Malaya. On the whole, the picture of Malaya's labour force was one of labour segmentation and occupational specialization according to ethnic groups. The Chinese and Indian labourers were brought in to work in the tin mines and the plantations respectively.The segmentation of labour along occupational lines provided few opportunities for socialising between the members of the different ethnic groups. According to Abraham (1997:1),

" ...because of British colonialism in Malaysia, the social structure of urban Malaysia today has been distorted in such manner as to emphasize ethnic and racial identity particularly among the different ethnic groups due to the increasing differentiation in terms of power and social class position, often overlapping with racial and ethnic identity"

Ethnic differentiation was also used to divide and weaken the labour to reduce conflicts between the labour of different ethnic groups. As a result, the policy of labour segmentation laid the foundation for ethnic stratification in Malaya. As the Chinese were involved in the commercial sector while the Malays in the agrarian sector, marked differences in their status had given rise to ethnic as well as class differentiation, wedging the Malays and Chinese further apart in terms of economy. For some of the Chinese who were were previously involved in local trade, the expansion of the global capitalist system had cast them into the role of middle-men, connecting the local population to the European traders. The local population began to perceive Chinese traders as the source of exploitation and the quality of relation between Malays and the Chinese changed for the worse (Lim,1980). The dominance of Chinese in trading activities was said to be the result of ethnic exclusion from other

economic spheres, thus giving rise to the subsequent stereotyping of them as having a natural taste for business (Fenton,1999).

The political situation in Malaya before independence was that of very ethnically divided parties which lead to a lot of racial discontentment in the process leading to independence. Hence, the alliance of ethnic based political parties were formed and through a process of compromise and negotiations of rights, independence was obtained in 1957. Part of the compromise between the alliance party was the introduction of the principle of *jus soli* (citizenship as a birthright) and a more liberal provision for citizenship for the immigrants where immigrants will be given citizenship and their children who were born after independence will be granted automatic citizenship. In return, the non-Malays had to accept certain rights of the Malays as the indigenous people of the country (Wan Hashim, 1981).

Part of the Article 153 of the Constitution stipulated that the Yang diPertuan Agong (King) will safeguard the special position of the Malays and other indigenous people and also protect the legitimate interest of the non-Malay communities. The Constitution also stipulated that the Malay language was to be the national language of the country and the implementation of the national education policy within ten years of independence will ensure that the Malay language will be spoken by all Malaysians. The ability to speak the same language was seen as an important milestone in bridging the language barrier between Malays and non-Malays. This was seen as the first step towards building a new nation.

Since the May 13th 1969 race riot, building a Malaysian nation had been the aim of the government. The riot which was sparked off by the loss of parlimentary seats by the alliance party which is UMNO, MIC and MCA in the general election to the Chinese based opposition parties especially in

Kuala Lumpur. These losses affected inter-ethnic relationships. The atmosphere had changed because mistrust against each other was revealed and inter-ethnic understanding became more difficult. On several occasions during the 1960's, intercommunal tensions approached flashpoints. The entry of Singapore into the new federation of Malaysia in 1963 created a situation where the Chinese formed the largest single ethnic community (42% of the population) in an already delicate communal balance. The continous use of English Language for official purposes was seen as a challenge to the Malay Language nationalists and as a result, the election was held in an atmosphere in which non-Malays feared further encroachment on what they considered their established rights, and the Malays were demanding a more vigorous assertion of Malay interests (Crouch,1996).

The concept of the Malaysian nation was modelled on Malay nationalism. The objective was to bring the different races close together, to be known and identified as Malaysians what ever their race are, not just as Malays, Chinese or Indians. The basis of the ideology of Malaysian Nation is the Rukunegara or National Principles which are supposed to provide the foundations for a common value system among all Malaysians which transcend ethnic, cultural and socioeconomic differences within the nation (Third Malaysia Plan, 1976-1980). Hence, national unity became the main objective of development. National unity is defined as a sense of common and shared destiny; a nation at peace with itself territorially, and ethnically integrated. The society is made up of one 'Bangsa Malaysia', lives in harmony, with political loyalty and dedication to the nation (Mahathir,1992). The government hoped that all the different races can have the opportunity to go into businesses together, and no longer be identified by occupation they do and to accept that the country belongs to all of them.

However, the ambiguity of the concept of a Malaysian nation was a cause for concern to non-Malays. By 1970, the concept of building a Malaysian nation

was clearly defined. This was outlined in the National Culture Policy in 1971 and was considered a controversial issue because the emphasis was on Malay culture as the foundation for the national culture, on Malay rulers as symbols of sovereignity, on Malay language as the national language and on Islam as the state religion. It was understood by many to involve a process of the assimilation of the other ethnic groups into the main ethnic group where being a Malay is synonymous to being a Muslim.

The non-Malays felt threatened that they would lose their identity as an ethnic group with a distinct culture and way of life. The dilemma for the Chinese at that time was not that they were unwilling to be integrated, but to what extent were they expected to adjust to the Malay culture (Tan,1982). However, by the 1990's, there was an acceptance by most non-Malays that assimilation was not going to be the way forward, but that instead accomodation (that is being able to live side by side and accepting the different ways of life) would be pursued since it had to be accepted that Malaysia is a multiracial and multicultural state, a melting pot of cultures (Ching,1996). The incident in 1969 had probably taught the different ethnic groups a history to remember, should anymore blood is shed in the name of justice.

Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohammad in his speech to welcome the appointment of the Advisory Panel on National Unity in 1989 supported the view of building a nation without each race and culture losing its own identity. According to him,

'The authorities have no intention of wiping out the identity of any race. All races are free to perpetuate their own identity in their language, religion, culture.However, when we attained independence, we made an agreement to accept Malaysia as the official name of the country, a Malaysian nation as our nation and Bahasa Malaysia as our national language.........................To accept Malaysia, to be called Malaysians and to use Bahasa Malaysia does not make us Malay.........We are only a Malaysian nation in the sense of a political identity based on a specific country '(Negara,1989: 5).

His speech seemed to emphasize accomodation as the concept of Malaysian nation. In his speech he also raised the issues of the low level of social interaction amongst the various groups. The need to increase participation in social activities among members from other ethnic groups through social interaction were also emphasized as a requisite to build a united Malaysia nation.

The issue of ethnic relationship is one that is very sensitive in nature in most of the multiracial countries because it involves inequalities in the distribution of power, justice and wealth. In Malaysia, the issue of ethnic relationship is highly sensitive, and any issues with racial sentiments raised by any parties can be regarded as a threat to political and national stability. For example, the indecisiveness of the Alliance government to implement national language policy in 1969 was said to be one of the cause of their loss in the general election (Wan Hashim, 1984). In many ways, the government tried to present a picture of the racial harmony and unity amongst the various racial groups in Malaysia. Most of the time, the government would not admit that there were any problems between the ethnic groups. The politicians argued that stability in the relationships between ethnic groups is one of the country's strong points presented to the rest of the world. To quote the former Foreign Minister of Malaysia, Dr. Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (quoted in Ching,1996: 36)

" we today have emerged as a shining example of a country that has succeeded in managing racial relations at a time when there is ethnic conflict all over the world ....It is not easy to create a Malaysian society . We cannot go into the 21st century with people living a separate identity except that they hold the same passport, hold the same identity card."

If Dr. Mahathir was taking about separate identities, Dr. Abdullah's message was that of a single identity. These conflicting signals sent by prominent politicians is an example of how difficult it is to understand the concept of a Malaysian nation. In a multiethnic society like Malaysia where the

Bumiputera (Malays and indigenous people) and non-Bumiputera (Chinese, Indians and others) formed an almost equal percentage, the ambiguity of the concept does not assist in the road towards national integration. What this means is that, Chinese, Indians and other races need to know if, being a Malaysian means that they will lose their cultural and ethnic identity, or they can still retain their ethnic identity without any doubts about their loyalty to the nation.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

1.1.1 Plural Society and Problems of Integration

Pluralism is an abstract term used to define a specific state of inter-group relations (Cox,1971). It was intended to identify a particular relationship between or amongst groups like ethnics, minorities, subcultures, associations or cultures. Generally, plural societies are those characterised to a substantial extent by ethnic or by racial cleavage and conflict (Thompson,1983). The term pluralistic society was first introduced by John S.Furnivall in 1910 to define the disintegration of native culture under the impact of capitalism. According to him, the essence of pluralism is the clashing of an imported social system with an indigenous social system of another style and all colonies of exploitation would thus constitute plural societies. The characteristics of a plural society can be said to be one that has a distinct pattern of economic behaviour where labour becomes sectionalized.

He said a plural society is one where

' Each group holds its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere, there is division of labour along racial lines' (Furnivall,1948:304).

As stated earlier, in the colonial setting, Malayan society was plural with compartmentalisation and division of labour along racial lines. Although the 'divide and rule' system works in managing conflicts between ethnic groups, it represented forces of disunity and disintegration in society after independence. During the colonial period, the plural society remained together because each ethnic groups were engaged in separate sections of labour and were dependent upon colonial organisation. Each section only looked after its own economic interest. However, this posed a problem after independence when marked differences in many aspects between ethnic groups made it difficult to form a stable nation (Lim,1981, Wan Hashim,1984).

The dimensions of the problem of integration in Malaysia can be discussed under 4 main areas that is the economic, socio-cultural, the demographic and the political. In the economic area, the effects of compartmentalisation of economic activities in Malaysia had a bearing on the uneven distribution of income with wide disparities not only between ethnic groups but also between urban and rural dwellers. In 1970, the Malays were the poorest, with a mean income of only RM179 compared to RM 387 for the Chinese. They were still involved in the subsistence economy while the Chinese were already involved in the capitalist economy (Mid-term Review of Second Malaysia Plan,1973).

By 1990, although there were still income differences between Malays and Chinese but the difference was converging. The income ratio between Malays and Chinese 1:1.79 compared to Malays and Indian which was 1:1.27 (Mid term review of Sixth Malaysia Plan,1993). Despite the effort to increase the income of the Malays, they still lagged behind Chinese and Indians. When citizenship were granted to the Chinese in the 1950's, it made them more politically powerful and this had cause an uneasiness among the Malays that not only was their economic cake still small, their political power was also slowly eroding.

Within the socio-cultural issue, each ethnic group in Malaysia came from countries with different cultural heritage although all came from the eastern part of the world. The plurality of the Malaysian society was made more interesting in the sense that each of the ethnic group on a general level has a different language, religion,customs, values and ways of life. The vast continents where they came from also introduced intra-ethnic sociocultural differences. This constitutes a further barrier to unity and national integration. One cultural element that acts as a barrier to assimilation between Malays and other ethnic groups is religion. Islam to the Malays acts as a strong unification force, irrespective of intra-ethnic differences. Within the Chinese and Indian communities, the different religions embraced by the individuals within the community act as a barrier to intra-ethnic unity.

Although language was also a barrier, a move towards unification of language by making Bahasa Malaysia as the national language was taken in the 1957 Education Ordinance. The ability to communicate with one common language was seen as an important step towards the integration of society.

The demographic structure of Malaysia was multiethnic even before the colonisation period. Years of East-West trading at the port of Malacca had

brought in migration from both east and west. However, the number of migrants were relatively small and those who settled down were easily assimilated. They adopted the custom of the indigenous people, some embraced Islam and lived like the Malays. As a result a new 'ethnic' group was created. They were the 'Peranakan' (or more commonly known as Baba and Nyonya, an ethnic Chinese who were very much assimilated into the Malay culture though some retained their Buddhist belief)) or the Chetty community of Indian descendent, mostly residing in Malacca.

However, the influx of immigrants during the colonial period transformed the society from a homogenous one to a plural society. The problems of integration were made more crucial because there was occupational segregation as well as locational segregation. The Malays were concentrated in the rural areas in their traditional kampungs and the immigrants, especially Chinese, were concentrated in the mining centres which grew into towns and the Indians lived in rubber plantations scattered all over the country. The physical separation lead to minimal contacts between the ethnic groups and socialising only took place during business hours or at the market places. (Lim,1981, Wan Hashim,1984)

As stated earlier, the political scene in Malaysia was that of ethnically divided groups. The Alliance Party (now known as the National Front) has so far been successful in managing ethnic sentiments. A common notion is that while the Chinese had the economic power, it was the Malays who held the political power. The supremacy of the Malays in the political arena was a compromise amongst different ethnic groups during independence where negotiations by the special Malay rights in the Constitution ensure that in at least 4 areas of public policy, Malay rights will not be negotiated. The 4 areas were the system of Malay Reserved Land, the quota within public services where a certain portion of jobs are reserved for Malays, the quotas for licences and permits for businesses and quotas for government scholarships and study grants for

Malays (Means,1976). Although these factors have been agreed upon, there were many times when the politicization of these issues have caused polarisation among the ethnic groups.

1.1.2 The Integrative Process

According to Ali Mazrui (1969), the process of national integration involves 4 stages of interrelationship between the different groups. The minimum degree of integration is the stage of coexistence. This stage does not even require the conscious coexistence of other groups, just being within the same locality. The second degree of interrelationship is the stage of contact. This implies that there must exist some form of communication, though minimal. The third degree of integration is the stage of compromise. The final stage in the integrative process is the stage of coalescence, which is a coalescence of identity rather than of interests. At this stage, since a new kind of identity is required, the distintiveness of group identities gets blurred. The final stage of the integrative process requires a total immersion of a new identity, eroding the former identity of the group.

The final stage of the integrative process can be considered a process of assimilation. Assimilation is when all conformity, whereby over time minorities will conform to the majority's mores, lifestyles and values (Newman,1973). Here, the assumption is that the majority is also the dominant group and majority relates to size of the population. The minority, on the other hand relates to not only groups which are small in number but also disadvantaged socially, economically and politically like the Blacks and other races in America where they formed only about 20% of the population in 1991 (Fenton,1999). Although the majority-minority situation was not the case for Malaysia, assimilation was thought by the non-Malays to be the the process adopted by Malaysia in the 1970's. There was a sense of losing one's

ethnic and cultural identity and this did not help at all on the road to national integration. Assimilation may be more likely to occur in Indonesia than in many other Southeast Asian countries because of the small size of the Chinese population. The Chinese in Indonesia who only made up 3% of the Indonesia's population but held 75% of the country's wealth and the former had to resort to changing their names to Indonesian names and some even converted to Islam to clear themselves of any association with mainland China. On the other hand, Thailand's Chinese population were more assimilated to the extent that a former Prime Minister once said said that 'most Thai had a Chinese hanging somewhere in their family tree' (Long,1998)

Non-Malays would rather accept integration as a process of cultural pluralism. (Tan, 1984,Crouch,1996). Cultural pluralism is defined as the peaceful coexistence between groups and that over a period of adjustment the different groups will make peace with each other and live side by side (Newman,1973). Switzerland is an example of a country that has successfully adopted a cultural pluralistic society. Smith (1965) defines cultural pluralism as a culturally divided society with each section living its own way of life, with its own distinctive system of actions,ideas, values and social relations. Hence, cultural pluralism not only is concern with social structure like primary group contacts but also takes into consideration behavioural characteristics which is the adoption of values, customs and attitudes. However, a form of cultural pluralism promoted by the People's Action Party (PAP) in the 1960's under the concept of Malaysian Malaysia was not favoured by the Malays for fear of losing their special rights. What the PAP proposed was a situation in the country where meritocracy rules. However, according to Dr. Mahathir, Malaysia already is a country where meritocracy rules but merits are awarded based on race, that is to the Malays (Elliot, 1996).

Gordon (1978) stresses the goal of cultural pluralism as a society where ethnic groups maintain their own communal social structure and identity and preserve certain values and behavioural patterns which are not in conflict with broader values, patterns and legal norms common to the entire society. Hence, ethnic groups are able to maintain their own cultural identity, and assimilation is only possible when the minority is culturally assimilated (acculturation) which is the first step towards assimilation.

1.3 The Concept of a Nation and National Integration

The concept of nation and national identity whivch evolved in the process of modernisation is a key feature in the emergence of the state. According to Weber (1967) a state is a 'compulsory political association with continous operations' whose 'administrative staff succesfully upholds the claim to monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order'. Hence, such a state cannot tolerate the independent political existence of ethnic cultures within its borders (Gellner,1983).

The post-1945 period saw the birth of several countries classified as new nations because these countries have been subjected to colonial rule by European countries for years. For these former colonies like Malaysia, Indonesia and many African countries, the process of modernisation and nation-building has only just begun. According to Emerson (1962), a nation is a community of people who feel that they belong together in the double sense that they share deeply significant elements of a common heritage and that they have a common destiny for the future. For these new nations, they did not have the the attributes of a common heritage and a common destiny. One of the common things that these former colonies have is a multiethnic or plural society.

The emergence of a new state then would require a new form of social grouping and that the members should feel solidarity with the nation and have a new national identity (Rex,1991). An ideal type of the nationalist vision defines a nation as any social group with a common and distinctive history and culture, a definite territory, common sentiments of solidarity, a single economy and equal citizenships for all members (Smith, 1979). When we talk about a nation, we tend to associate key concepts like social cohesiveness, a sense of nationalism, a group of people who share the same ideology which transcends class, language, race or creed (Chisholm and Smith, 1990).

However, in reality, many countries with shared a history and common culture experience divisions and this can have a geographical form. One would think that segregation of the society would only occur in countries under capitalistic economy because the reward system would result in a division of labour, but segregation of the society also happen in socialists countries like Russia (in the past). Building a nation will even be harder in new nations with plural societies, where groups did not share anything in common.

As international boundaries become less significant and the world population become more mobile, international migration causes changes in a country's population. Cities of the world becomes more multicultural and the urban managers face the challenges of planning in multiracial cities. The need to hold a nation's population together becomes more crucial for local and international political stability.

The idea of creating an identity for a nation's population is not new. All nations have an idea of the characteristic of their ideal society. Because relationship between different groups take place within a spatial context, the organisation of territory may contribute to social cohesiveness if all

individuals within the nation conforms to the same ideology of that nation or it may cause conflict and segregation within the society if some groups are opposed to the ideology and in the long run this may affect political stability. The seriousness of the government in achieving national integration and unity will require direct government intervention in various aspects of social life. The ultimate goal was to create a society where loyalty to the nation transcend communal loyalty and the vertical boundary ever present in the minds of the ethnic groups which segregated them will be eliminated.

1.2 The Significance of the research

My interest in the subject of national integration as a social aspect and whether it can manifest itself in a spatial form was sparked off by a very innocent question from a Chinese student when I was teaching at the University on the course 'Malaysian Nationhood', which has been compulsory for new students in all the local universities since early 1980's. The introduction of the subject as an element in the education system at tertiary level was part of the national integration process. While 'preaching' (I used the word preaching because the course was more of instilling the values of being a good Malaysian citizen rather than providing a forum of discussion about the concept of nationhood and national integration) the topic on National Integration, he asked me if an individual is considered "integrated" if he just socialised during sports meeting or social events or does the place in which he lives influenced the level of integration? Basically is someone who lives amongst other ethnic group more integrated than someone who socialises with other ethnic groups only during social events?

As someone who was trained as a physical planner dealing with floor space and densities and layouts, I was fascinated to discover the interplay of the three dimensional forces, that is the physical plan, the actual physical

environment and the people within the environment. Can physical environment influence social behaviour, that is, can the place of residence influence social interaction between people of different groups? Teaching in a sociology department gave an added insight of looking at not just how physical environment affected social behaviour, but how much of the factors is also influenced by race and ethnicity? To what extent do socioeconomic and cultural differences influence social interaction and integration amongst the different racial groups in Malaysia? I decided to look into whether the development of residential areas can bring about more social interaction and to what extent will this lead to better integration between the different groups of people living in those areas.

Working within the broad framework of national integration, I decided to look into the aspect of housing as a possible tool of racial and ethnic integration. Housing policies in Malaysia had always looked upon the provision of housing as more of a physical requirement (that is the provision of shelter) rather than fulfilling the social needs. The goal had always been a statistical challenge of achieving the targeted number of housing required. However, since the formulation of the Third Malaysia Plan (1976-1980), with national unity as the thrust of Malaysia's development policies, housing was seen as a tool for social integration as indicated by the statement ' continued progress was made in reducing segregation and increasing interaction among ethnic groups through the promotion of more ethnically balanced residential patterns in housing areas' (Fifth Malaysia Plan, 1986-1990).

According to Newman (1973), the most important indicator of social-space relationship between groups is residence. Evidence from studies in America had shown that the greater the degree of social segregation between 2 groups, the greater the likelihood that conflicts between them will be relatively infrequent, though intense and violent. This implied that although social segregation will reduce the likelihood of frequent violence, the intensity of

violence will be greater if it occurs. This may also be the case in Malaysia in the 1969 racial riot. The spatial segregation coupled with racist taunts by the Chinese like 'Malays may return to their villages' and 'This country does not belong to the Malays, we want to chase out all the Malays' was too much for the Malays to bear (Goh,1971).

1.3 The aims and objective of the research

The study of segregation was based upon the assumption that the greater the degree of differences between the spatial distribution of groups within an urban area, the greater their social distance from each other (Peach,1975). The idea of social segregation was viewed negatively in the sense that if social groups are very spatially segregated, it can be used as an indicator of the strengths and weaknessess of the social divisions within the society.

This approach of thinking was based upon environmental determinism whereby physical environment affects human behaviour and physical design can affect social relationship. In a way, social distance affects social relationships. The conceptual relationship between social distance and spatial association was first published by Park (1926) in his study on residential patterns of ethnic groups in Chicago. His study discovered that social relations are frequently and inevitably correlated with spatial relationships.

According to Jacob and Teune (1964), integration is dependent upon proximity, homogeneity, transaction or interaction and mutual knowledge and understanding. Therefore, the research will try to unfold at least two aspects of the integration, that is proximity and interaction. The focus of the resarch will be on one aspect of the relationship between 2 major ethnic groups in Malaysia that is the Malays and the Chinese in residential areas. The general assumption is that the level of social interaction between ethnic groups will

influence the level of integration. The research will also try to look at the effects of area on social interaction patterns and levels of integration.

The research will put forward the proposition that:

Residential mix between Malays and Chinese will foster more social interaction. The higher the level of social interaction between ethnic groups, the higher the level of integration.

1.4 The structure of the thesis

The thesis will be divided into eleven chapters. Basically, chapters 1- 6 will cover the theoretical framework and the operationalisation of the research. Chapters 7-11 will discuss the findings of the research based on the statistical analysis.

In chapter 1, the theoretical framework is outlined. Working within the theoretical context of the plural society, the chapter will look into the problems of achieving national integration in plural societies, specifically the process of national integration in Malaysia. In a society where the there was no distinct majority-minority relationship, where the ratio of Malays and non-Malays was almost equal, national integration and national unity was the paramount concern in the development process of Malaysia to ensure continous political and national stability.

In Chapter 2, the concept of housing as a tool for social integration will be discussed. In Malaysia, one of the ways of achieving social integration was through the provision of housing. The implementation of the New Economic Policy in the area of housing will also be discussed. This chapter will also

look into the concept of social balance in residential development, its purpose and to what extend it has achieved its objective.

Chapter 3 will look critically at the form and nature of social relationship between ethnic groups in Malaysia specifically between the Malays and the Chinese and the impact of the New Economic Policy in Malaysia as a tool to integrate the society. The chapter will look into how the implementation of the policy had affected the social relationship between ethnic groups in Malaysia. In order to operationalise the concept of ethnic relationship within a spatial context and to see to what extent the housing mix policy had any effect on social relationship between ethnic groups, a case study will be selected. The area selected was Kuala Lumpur which will be discussed in the next chapter.

In chapter 4, the study area which was Kuala Lumpur will be described. Kuala Lumpur was selected as the case study because it represented the plurality of the society. Kuala Lumpur was also the only city where the local authority had in its structure plan document a policy on ethnic mix.

Chapter 5 described the methods and the stages involved in the research. The methods involved in primary data collection included interviewing officers involved in the process of preparing structure plans in the Klang Valley region as well as private housing developers and social survey. The secondary data collected included various reports published and unpublished and statistical information from the Department of Statistics. Social survey with face to face interviewing was used as the principal method of gathering primary data on the form of social relationships between Malays and Chinese because it was the most practical method. The problems encountered in the survey process was outlined.

In chapter 6, the rationale of the housing mix policy in Kuala Lumpur was discussed. The interpretation and the implementation of the housing mix policy and the quota for Bumiputera by the Kuala Lumpur City Hall and some urban local authorities will be investigated. The results of the survey is discussed in Chapter 7. The chapter will focus on the socioeconomic background of the respondents, looking at the differences and similarities between the characteristics of the respondents residing in the different types of area.

In chapter 8, the focus will be on the social interaction patterns between the Malays and Chinese residing in different types of residential areas. The proposition put forward was that residential proximity encouraged the formation of social relations and that there was no difference in the form of social interaction patterns between Malays and Chinese residing in the different types of areas. Using bivariate analysis, the association between variables is investigated.

Chapter 9 will discuss the integration patterns between Malays and Chinese in different types of residential areas. The integration pattern was measured using an adapted version of Borghadus social distance index and the aim was to establish if the Malays and Chinese residing in different types of areas show different levels of integration on the integrative items.

In chapter 10, the empirical analysis to test the significance of the area variable as an effect on social interaction patterns and integration is described. Using ANOVA and regression analysis, the chapter will describe the factors that have an effect on social interaction patterns and integration. The conclusion, the limitations of the study and future research will be outlined in Chapter 11.

CHAPTER 2

PLANNING, HOUSING POLICY AND RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION

Key Points

The key points in this chapter will be the role of the New Economic Policy (NEP) as a tool in social engineering in Malaysia specifically looking into the implementation in the areas of economic,education and housing. Housing has also been used as a tool for social integration and the idea of socially balanced neighbourhood was thought to create positive environment for the process of social interaction.

2.0 Introduction

Previous research on ethnic relationships between Malays and Chinese were very few and far between and ones that look at the relationship in the domestic sphere was even harder to find. This research aimed to investigate only a small section of the vast and complex issue of ethnic relationship in a country which had been considered the success story of British colonization in terms of the implementation of democracy (Abraham,1997). The government was responsible to a national Parliament elected at least every five years, and politics were relatively open as shown by the variety of parties that were contesting elections, although significant limitations were imposed on political freedoms (Crouch,1996). However, are the ethnic groups truly contented about being a Malaysian and about living in Malaysia? Has the ethnic divisions been abolished with the measures taken by the government to ensure national unity? At what stage of integration is Malaysian society in? Are we moving towards assimilation or are the groups more divided now that before? A lot of questions remained unanswered. Relationships between ethnic groups are not static or frozen in time. They are dynamic and issues

will arise at any point of time that will trigger ethnic sentiments and the people will have to choose between ethnic loyalty and national interest. The previous chapter had provided a broad view of the quest for national integration in a plural society like Malaysia. National integration was seen as an important mechanism to ensure political stability and national unity. But the drive to achieve national integration was not always a smooth ride. Wide differences within the society acted as obstacles hindering progress towards national integration because growing occupational and geographical segregation had driven ethnic groups even further apart (Sundaram,1989; Crouch,1996).

The relationships between ethnic groups in Malaysia can generally be considered harmonious, though there were many incidences that put the amicable relationship to a test (Crouch,1996; Fenton,1999). The issue of language, religion and culture had always strained the relationship between groups especially between Chinese and Malays. For example, in 1978, there was dissension about the Chinese community's wish to establish a university teaching in Chinese because permission for it was not given and in 1998, public disturbance occured when the building of an extension to a Hindu temple was met with hostility by Muslims (Fenton,1999). The issue of the 1971 National Culture Policy (though not yet resolve) was the least of the worries for the Chinese ever since conflicting interpretation of the policy have been given by the government since its inception. For almost 30 years, Chinese have lived in a country that gives preferential treatment to the majority of the population, putting them at a disadvantaged position in many aspects of their lives, making them feel like second class citizen, in a country that tries very hard to give them a sense of belonging. The New Economic Policy which was the master plan for social engineering begining from 1970, was thus often a source of discontent among the non-Bumiputera groups in Malaysia.

2.1 New Economic Policy and National Integration

Within the context of the 2nd Malaysia Plan (1971-1975), the New Economic Policy was formulated. The overriding aim was to lay foundations of national unity among the diverse ethnic groups in Malaysia through a two-pronged approach.

The was clearly stated in the Second Malaysia Plan(1971:1) where

' National unity is the over-riding objective of the country. A stage has been reached in the nation's economic and social development when greater emphasis must be placed on social integration and more equitable distribution of income and opportunities for national unity and progress. This direction towards national unity is fundamental to the NEP'.

The policy has a strategy of eradicating poverty irrespective of race and of accelerating the process of restructuring Malaysian Society to correct economic imbalances in order to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic functions. Under the New Economic Policy, it was felt that the promotion of Malay urbanization would hasten the correction of imbalances in Malaysian society as a consequences of urbanizing Malays (Cho,1990) Indirectly, the implementation of the New Economic Policy has encouraged migration to the urban areas, especially amongst Malays because of the economic opportunities that was provided for them in the urban areas in various employment sectors, but especially in the public sector.

The strategy of restructuring society was also expected to reduce the degree of segregation along ethnic lines because it would have brought different ethnic groups into close contact within the employment sector. The economic approach was taken because it was thought that the economic differences were the causes of the ethnic riots which led to the formulation of the policy. There

were also more inter-ethnic partnerships and involvement in commercial and industrial ventures. One of the objectives of the New Economic Policy was also to create a Bumiputera Industrial and Business Community (Information Malaysia Yearbook, 1995) which will act as the catalyst to encourage the involvement of Bumiputra in commercial activities.

The issue of inequality and the problems of majority-minority in Malaysia is different from that in the West like UK or USA in the sense that the majority (in terms of size) was the one that was economically disadvantaged and the minority the economically advantaged. Hence, by virtue of the rights of the Malays, policies were formulated to bring the Malays to an equivalent economic level.

Preferential policies are common in ethnically divided societies but the implementation varies in content, scope and explicitness. Some policies are limited to the public sector, while others extend to private sector as well. The Malaysian affirmative action programmes can be considered as an extensive one, encompassing all aspects of life because it has its roots in the Constitution. Countries like India reserved educational places, positions in the civil servants and legistaive seats for certain 'scheduled' castes while in Fiji all cultivable land were reserved for Fijians (Horowitz, 1985). However, the understanding in Malaysia was that preferential policies was just a short term measure, to give enough time for the particular group receiving the treatment to 'catch up' with the rest of the society.

According to Horowitz (1985), preferential policies were fostered for several reasons:

1. The preferential policies require little in the way of expenditure and hence are low cost strategy for coping with ethnic conflict;

2. That they are necessary, at least temporarily, if groups are ultimately going to be able to compete on equal terms; and

3. That the causes of ethnic conflict reside in objective economic disparities between groups that can be eliminated through policies aimed at those disparities.

Therefore, the underlying rationale behind preferential policies was that the conflicts between ethnic groups were the product of economic differences. Hence ethnic harmony will be achieved as the result of a more proportional distribution of resources between all groups at all levels and in all functions of a society.

Malaysia's New Economic Policy is all about redistribution, specifically inter-ethnic redistribution. The ultimate aim was national unity through improved inter-ethnic relations. The assumption therefore is that the NEP redistributive objectives would contribute to reduce inter-ethnic economic disparities, improved inter-ethnic relationship and thus national unity.

Part of the wealth restructuring was the 30% target for Bumiputera share ownership of companies by 1990, the year the implementation of the NEP was supposed to end. The 30 % target became an obsession and the figure manifested itself in all sectors economic and non-economic, although the focus of the discussion was mainly on some of the main sectors, like economy, education and housing. To meet the objective of 30% Bumiputera ownership, financial allocations for existing and newly created state enterprises were increased substantially (Second Malaysia Plan, 1971). Credits and loans were extended to Bumiputeras to encourage the formation of a Bumiputera industrial and business community. Business licences and development projects were reserved for Bumiputeras. As a result, Bumiputera with no organisational know how and expertise formed joint venture companies with

non- Bumiputeras, while some subleased their licences for a fee and became sleeping partners rather than running the companies themselves (Long,1998).

The provision in the Constitution concerning Malay Special Rights specifically identified public sector employment as part of the right of the Malays.Therefore, in public services, a large portion of the jobs were reserved for the Bumiputera, leaving the non- Bumiputera to find employment in the private sectors. While many western countries like the US and the UK have an equal employment opportunity policies, Malaysia has an unequal employment opportunity policies, discriminating against the non-Bumiputera for employment in government organisations and public enterprises. On the other hand, in the private sectors, there was a tendency to recruit more Bumiputera personnel who were often placed in selected positions like members of the Board of Directors, executive directors and personnel managers (Oo, 1983).

In terms of education, there was a form of 'sponsored mobility' through the award of scholarships for education. Before the implementation of the NEP, higher education was not accessible to the Bumiputeras, since most of the secondary schools were located in the cities. The different systems of education at the primary level had segregated the different ethnic groups and only those fortunate enough to go to secondary level in the cities encountered the experience of being educated in a mixed environment.

However, after 1970, with the formulation of the Bahasa Malaysia as the National Language, the vernacular schools were slowly phased out making way for a common Malay medium school for the whole country. However, some vernacular primary schools at the primary level were still maintained after opposition from the Indian and Chinese communities. These students have to do an extra year in the secondary school to catch up on their Bahasa Malaysia. While some Chinese parents reluctantly came to the conclusion that

the national system secondary schools offered the most promising path to further educational opportunities, some sought alternatives by sending their children to Chinese medium independently sponsored educational institutions. With limited opportunities to enter the local universities with the quota imposed, it was not uncommon for some non-Bumiputera parents to send their children abroad for further and higher education.The implementation of the quota system for university entrance was the most important educational issue causing Chinese displeasure and alienation from the 1970's.

The language policy which was also a cause of unhappiness amongst the champion of the Chinese language. This was changed in 1993 to allow for flexibility in teaching at the institutes of higher learning. English was given equal importance despite protests from the Malay nationalists and academics. The use of language as a means of integrating the society did not seem to be well received by the non-Bumiputeras. The inability to speak the mother tongue was associated with the loss of culture. Far from uniting the ethnic groups, the issue of language became one of the reasons for communal tensions from time to time .

2.2 The Implementation of Unity Type Policies in Housing

One of the major social objectives of national development is the provision of housing. Providing accomodation was not only seen as fulfilling the social role of the government, it was also aimed at promoting national unity. To achieve this, the government has introduced home ownership policies and promotional incentives to encourage the population to become home owners and encourage private developers to assist the government in providing homes, not only for the middle income and higher income groups but also the lower income groups.

In physical development, the strategy to redress the issue of ethnic polarization in the cities is through the development of growth centres which will provide opportunities for the creation of balanced settlement patterns to allow Malaysians of all ethnic groups to live side by side and to interact in their daily activities (Fourth Malaysia Plan, 1981). The new planned residential areas with suitable provision for community facilities will create an informal environment where primary social relationships can be developed by the different ethnic groups. This implied the fear that geographical distance might affect social relationships between the different ethnic groups.

In the context of local development planning, most of local authorities have a mixed residential policy in their structuree plan documents requiring at least 30% of the total new housing to be low cost. As stated in the Fifth Malaysia Plan (1986:525),

"Housing programmes during the Fifth Malaysia Plan period will be implemented in the context of the human settlement concept , with the objectives of providing social facilities and upgrading the quality of life as well as promoting national unity. Under this concept, the provision of social facilities, such as schools, clinics and community halls, will be emphasized, in addition to the provision of basic infrastructural facilities and the promotion of economic opportunities"

This was later continued in the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991:363),

" The objective of the housing policy was to provide Malaysians of all income levels particularly the lower income group, with accessibility to adequate and affordable shelter. The development of housing was also aimed at providing a reasonable standard of living as well as promoting social integration for the community in the long term. Toward this end, the housing development programmmes were implemented based on the human settlement concept, whereby housing areas were provided with various social facilities and amenities which included schools, clinics,sports facilities, recreation and religious worship as well as commercial facilities such as shops, houses and markets."

The focus of housing in the Seventh Malaysia Plan (1996-2000) was still on the concept of human settlement, but with more emphasis on lower and middle income housing. The human settlement concept was basically a concept for designing residential areas where facilities and amenities will be provided and the emphasis was on creating an environment where the human being was the focus of development. The development of residential areas had to take into account the impact of the environment on the social and economic behaviour and activities of the people. The ultimate aim was that these environment for human beings will have far reaching effects on social harmony and national unity.

What can be implied from the requirement to create a variety of housing and multi activities residential areas was that segregation between income and ethnic groups was seen as undesirable because it may lead to divisions among a society that has little social interaction in other spheres.

It was expected that when different social groups lived near each other, they will eventually learn to accept and tolerate the differences between them. Though conflicts may be present in this mixed group, it was said to be on the basis of common interests like arguing for the common good of the neighbourhood. However, the lack of intense conflict need not necessarily imply stability. In Malaysia, the politics of the Malaysian Chinese are said to be 'the know our place position' where Chinese politicians within the National Front are conspicously silent on important national issues relating to justice, corruption or democracy because there seemed to be an unwritten rule of self-censorship and 'don't rock the boat' (Jayasankaran,1994). Policy planners in Malaysia might hold on to the view that a mixed area will reduce the possibility of creating ethnic enclaves that may breed racial feelings based on ethnicity.

2.3 Housing, Social interaction and Integration

The concept of housing as a tool of social integration was not something new. Wirth (1947) in his discussion on how housing influences human lives sociologically explained housing as a social value. According to him,

"the content of this value ranges all the way from the quest for basic shelter to the striving to achieve residential accomodations with varying degrees of luxury, various amenities of life, status giving qualities and other characteristics,such as location of the house, the material out of which it is to be built, the style of architecture, the nature of the community in which it is located and the characteristics of one's neighbours" (Wirth, 1947:138).

In other words, a house is not just a structure of 4 walls and a roof, it encompasess the environment around it. This was supported by Turner (1972) who considered a house as a complex matter comprising the household, its dwelling and its neighbourhood. He also considered housing as a process not just as a physical product and should be understood not just for what it is but also for what it does.

Gans (1972) argued that the physical environment is relevant to behaviour in so far as this environment affects the social system and culture of the people involved or as if taken up into their social system. Hence, it is not so much the physical built area that is important in influencing people's behaviour. It is how people perceive the environment, live in it and utilize it based on their social system and culture that will give meaning to the area and the quality of social relationships.

The role of housing as a tool in social integration was also seen to be important by the United Nations when it set up an ad hoc committee to discuss and study the role of housing in promoting social integration in 1974.

According to the committee,

" it was observed that increased residential contact not only shifted inter-group attitudes in more favourable directions but also freed the mind from hostility so that it could devote attention towards more genuine problems. The crucial thing was to dispel fear and to harness the innate human longing to live in peace and friendship with one's neighbour"(UN, 1974:8)

Many supported the idea that housing can foster better social relationship between residents. According to Perry (1939 quoted in Mann 1958: 91),

" when residents are brought together through the use of common recreational facilities, they come to know one another better and friendly reactions ensue. Existing developments with neighbourhood unit features have consistently produced face to face social conditions"

This view was also supported by Bassett and Short (1980) who argued that the provision of housing should take into consideration the different groups with different needs and that housing must contribute to the reproduction of social relations through the provision of diversified kind of housing for different social class.

On the other hand, Gans (1972) argued that people of similar background will find more satisfaction in their residential area and that social integration will occur only between similar groups.

According to him(1972:158)

" Conversely, other studies of social life have shown that people tend to choose friends on the basis of similarities in background, such as age, and socio-economic level;values, such as those with respect to privacy or child rearing; and interests such as leisure activity preferences. These findings suggest that social relationships are influenced and explained by people's homogeneity with respect to a variety of characteristics, although it is not yet known exactly what combination of characteristics must be shared for different social relationships."

Basically, there was a general consensus on the important role of housing in promoting social relationships between residents. The basic assumption of all these views was that residential areas are the most likely site where social interaction process takes place. However, differences arise about the type of residents that would be better off benefiting from the relationship between residents. Should residential areas consisted of homogenous groups of people or a mixed group residents, the latter providing a variety of experience that will enrich relationships between residents? If the residential areas should be mixed, at what proportion should the different categories of residents be distributed to maximise social interaction? Different social classes, residents of different ages, and different households have different needs and requirements.

They also showed different forms of social interaction patterns. Working class who worked near their neighbourhood might utilise the facilities in their neighbourhood more than those who worked in another part of the neighbourhood. Increased mobility extend the socialising further from the neighbourhood. A person's activities are not necessarily located in his home community nor are the participants in these activities his neighbours. The meaning of the neighbourhood is different for different age groups and different kinds of households (Cherry,1988).

In the context of Malaysia, the allocation of housing units based on ethnicity was implemented mostly for low cost housing. Different states had different quota but with a minimum of 30 % for Bumiputera. Some states like Selangor and Johore specified 45% for public sector housing and 30% private sector housing. The allocation based on ethnicity can be interpreted as the government's intention of increasing Bumiputera homeownership which was part of Bumiputeras' wealth or of creating a mixed environment where there will be daily inter-ethnic socialising which eventually will lead to the

overriding aim of integrating the different ethnic groups, thus achieving national integration and unity.

Whereas social interaction was defined as communication, exchange of information/instructions and affect behaviour or condition (Collins Cobuild English Dictionary, 1995), integration was defined as to behave in such a way as to become part of a group or accepted into it. The conception of integration derives from sociology where integration is viewed as a "drawing together of the parts of a system into a unified, coordinated, and harmonious whole" (Encyclopedia of Sociology,1974,).

Integration requires a tolerant attitude and there has to be a deeper understanding of the exchanges that occur between individuals. According to Molotch (1972), true integration should involve interpersonal contact and primary group social interaction as well as transracial solidarity, where people of different colours and ethnic groups should be able to interact freely without constraint, and true integration goes beyond the mixing of races. The process of integration involves more affective relationships, where there is a sense of love, trust, hate among others and it involves trying to extract hidden feelings and emotions related to the relationship. Integration is not just about behaviour, it is about a state of mind which consists of both patterns of behaviour and attitudes (Rabushka,1971). Pettigrew (1975) suggested that integration should be measured by the quality of contact between the different races and the level of cross racial acceptance and that the quality of friendship should be on the basis on equity and equality.

Integration can only be achieved when the different races or ethnic groups can accept one another on an equal basis, not one superior to another. However, the concept of integration should be viewed as a dynamic process, an on-going process of achieving stable racial integration, one where when the

demographic integration (racial mixing) is achieved, social integration follows.

2.4 The concept of social balance

Festinger (1950) in a study of social life suggested that architects who design layouts and decide which directions houses will face, which way roads will pass and how close together they will be, is to a large extent deciding the patterns of social life among the residents who will live there. Gans (1972) further suggested that the planner affects social life, not through the site plan, but through decisions about lot sizes or facility standards that help to determine directly or indirectly whether the population of an area will be homogeneous or heterogeneous with respect to the characteristics that determine social relationships.

In other words, an area designed to accomodate houses which are affordable for low income people would be homogeneous in terms of income, education or occupation. Thus, in the case of Malaysia, where large residential areas are designed to have a mixture of residential types, one would expect a mixture of different income groups to be living within the same area or the area to depict heterogeneity.

However, there is a need to study these claims to identify if it is sufficient to create a mixed residential area in order to achieve a socially balanced neighbourhood and if a socially mixed area creates intensive relationship by the provision of facilities which will be of use to the whole community. Two types of social balance were envisaged; one at the neighbourhood level aand one at the town level. At the neighbourhood level, a socially balanced neighbourhood would have to provide a variety of dwellings for families belonging to different ranges of income groups. But, clustering of families of

similar social class or sub-units within the neighbourhood may occur. Thus, while neighbourhoods would be balanced in an overall sense, within this context like would be able to live with like. At the town level, residential mix can still be achieve even though different parts of the town may be inhabited by one income group or social class only, if overall, the town is represented by all income or social groups.

The debate on homogeneity among neighbours and the dimensions of heterogeneity is complex and abstract. Friendship usually requires homogeneity because of the common backgrounds, values and probably similar interests. However, this also depends upon social class. Homogeneous groups from working class tend to build stronger relationship amongst the immediate neighbourhood as compared to groups from upper class. They rely mostly on primary relationship and have a closer and deeper relationship with the neighbours. On the other hand, the social contacts made by the upper class are normally within the circle of friends that belong to the same clubs, business circles and share similar recreational activities (Darke,1969).

Sociologists associate the concept of homogeneity with factors like behaviour patterns, values, interests and not just with background factors like income, education, age, occupation, and race (Gans, 1972, Darke,1969). It is insufficient to look at visible factors in order to generalize an area to be homogenous although it may seem so. Louis Wirth (1938) in his essay had outlined that number, density and heterogeneity created a social structure in which primary relationships in an urban industrial area were replaced by secondary relationships that are impersonal, superficial, transitory and predatory in nature. Although his essay was derived from studying inner cities communities in urban areas as compared to folk communities in rural areas, it should stimulate planners to think whether the communities within a planned area can develop a close social relationship or whether it is impossible to

achieve some sort of community relationship through the design of houses and neighbourhood.

However, Gans (1972) also gives four reasons for the need of population mix:

1. It adds variety as well as demographic balance to an area. It will not look 'right' to have an area that is homogeneous, especially if it is a low income area because it will give the outlook of slum. This was because these areas are usually high density and poorly maintained.

2. It promotes tolerance of social and cultural differences, thus reducing political conflict and encouraging democratic practice. This is based upon the assumption that it is the middle and upper class who are usually the political leaders or active political members. This is not necessarily true, because other class groups have been known to group together and fight for a common cause.

3. It provides a broadening educational influence on children by teaching them about the existence of diverse types of people and creating the opportunity for them to learn to get along with these people. As cities become more multiracial and multicultural, there is a need for the children and residents of the cities to learn to accept the existence of the different groups and accept that cross cultural fertilisation will become part of their urban way of life.

4. It encourages exposure to alternative ways of life by providing intellectually inclined neighbourhoods for the child from a bookless household or by offering the mobile working class family an opportunity to learn middle class ways. In another word, being in a mixed group will encourage the 'spirit of

emulation'. Here, it need not be a one way process; there is always some things the higher group can learn from the lower group.

Sarkissian (1976) outlined 9 factors that provided a reason for social mix. They are to:

1. raise the standards of the lower classes by nurturing the spirit of emulation

2. encourage aesthetic diversity and raise aesthetics standards

3. encourage cross cultural fertilisation

4. increase equality of opportunity

5. promote social harmony by reducing social and racial tensions

6. promote social conflict in order to foster individual and social maturity

7. improve the physical functioning of the city and its inhabitants

8. help maintain stable residential areas

9. reflect the diversity of the urbanised modern world.

Both Gans and Sarkissian agreed that a population mix would bring out richer experiences for the residents through the mixture of different types of people. They were also in agreement that the lower class can learn through the process of emulation and perhaps the upper class can also learn something from the lower class? The reasons for social mix seemed idealistic although there may be some truth in the ideas. In the context of a multiracial society like Malaysia where rapid economic growth in the years since independence transformed its class structure, it will be very important to find out if a mixed residential area with all ethnic groups represented in it will encourages cross cultural fertilisation and in the long run helps to achieve national integration.

These reasons formed the backbone of the social planning ideologies in the new towns development in UK. The concept of mixed community is not a

notion of a classless society but the existence of social classes through physical proximity and sharing of facilities to induce them to mix together (Heraud, 1968). According to Heraud, a one-class working class community would develop social inertia, that is a lack of leadership which the middle class was thought would provide. Therefore, new plans for post-war urban redevelopment would have a planning scheme which contain members of all social classes.

The idea of New Towns developed through the garden city movement (Cherry,1988). The New Towns were developed as areas where there would be a diverse and balanced social composition as stated in the final report of the Reith Committee, 1946 (quoted in Cherry, 1988),

"if the community is to be truly balanced, so long as social classes exist, all must be represented in it. A contribution is needed from every every type and class of person: the community will be poorer if all are not there, able and willing to make it".

This was seen as a means to achieve a balanced mixture of the population. The important aspect in this context is the creation of an area represented by members of all social classes and that the social relationships is expected to be developed through the sharing of community facilities. However, developing strong social relationships take into consideration more factors than just close proximity.

Johnston (1984) suggested that heterogeneity of residential areas were affected by the class system. Classes were associated with economic categories and the class system is a result of the allocation of rewards (income, wealth, power) of a capitalist system. Residential segregation is a natural phenomenon of a capitalist city whereby factors of income, wealth, status and power which are all linked to education and to migrant status were

major determinants of the behaviour patterns that lead to the spatial segregation of classes.

He also suggested that factors of externalities in the social environment which affects property values as one of the reasons why the residential areas were segregated. The rich can afford to pay to live in an area that is further from the neighbourhoods that were considered undesirable residential locales. This was because the price paid for a home was also considered an investment and an investor would not likely to see the investment decline in value due to negative externalities. This can also be exacerbated by planning process which segregate land according to certain uses and to locate working classes near their workplace, for example low income residential areas near factories. Hence, suburbs become the choice of the better off because they can be away from the noise and pollutants of the city centre.

One of the criteria that was an important indicator for upward social mobility was education. One of the goals of a socially balanced community was to encourage the spirit of emulation or provide a broadening educational and social experience on children.

A study conducted by Little and Mabey (1973) on the achievement of reading attainment and socially mixed schools and neighbourhoods showed that the attainment of all children was higher if they were in schools with a high middle class or low working class composition and the children's performance were better in schools with less than ten percent of immigrants. So, this study indicated that social and ethnic mix did not lend to better performance measures in reading attainment of children from a socially and ethnically mixed schools and neighbourhoods.

However, another study by Andrews (1986) on the effects of neighbourhood social mix on social networks and recreational activities showed that social mix in the residential environment influenced the composition and nature of social networks of children in low income families and increased their awareness and utilisation of recreational activities. His study, which was done in various public housing in Canada, showed that the recreational activities of children from low income families were influenced by the activities of chlidren from middle and upper class neighbourhoods because of their social networks in schools and after schools.

Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996) in a study of a multiethnic community in Los Angeles found that theories of prejudice provided much greater leverage on residential integration attitudes. According to them, in a neighbourhood, what matters is the magnitude or degree of difference that in-group members have socially learned to expect and maintain relative to members of specific out-group. This theory views residential segregation as connected to attitudes about an out-group. This implies that residential integration is depended upon the 'willingness' attitude of individuals to integrate themselves with their neighbours.

No study on the effects of ethnic mix on social integration had been done in Malaysia.However, a study of residential mix in Singapore Housing Development Board housing showed that residential mix brought positive effects on the relationship between ethnic groups (Teo and Huang,1996; Tai, 1988;Chiew,1978). More than 80% of Singapore's population lived in high rise apartments developed by HDB. With a multiracial population comprising 77% Chinese, 15% Malay, 6% Indian and 2% others, the Chinese made up the majority of the population. Since 1989, Singapore's ethnic integration policy dictates clearly that there must be within a public housing estate, a mix of the three main ethnic groups closely matching the national average composition. In large public housing, the ethnic quota was enforced down to the block unit

(Teo and Huang, 1996). According to the then Minister of National Development (quoted in Teo and Huang,1996), the integration policy was introduced because there was a tendency for each ethnic groups to concentrate in separate groups in the 1980's. To the policymakers, this trend if left unchecked will lead to the reemergence of ethnic pockets which was in evidence in the 1950's and 1960's. With this policy, it was also hoped that the MP s and the grassroot leaders will know the problems of every ethnic and social groups.

Therefore the official view of the Singapore government was that a balanced racial and ethnic mix in each housing area will be more conducive to harmonious living and the development of community since each block can be seen as a microcosm of Singapore. Tai (1988) and Teo and Huang (1996) found that the people from different ethnic groups in Singapore were able to live together peacefully and harmoniously in the public estates and this study was consistent with findings from other previous research done in Singapore (see Chiew,1978, Chan and Evers,1978).

The success story of Singapore's community in achieving national unity and integration must be understood within the context of the society. All the residents of Singapore housing estates were urban residents, as Singapore is an urban city-state and the socioeconomic background of the residents was not reflected in the homogeneity of the physical structure. All of them lived in similar surroundings and were accessible to similar facilities. There were a lot of factors physically and socially that were homogenous and probably few factors that were heterogenous with ethnic factor being the only distinct one. Singapore is unique in the sense that the government is directly involved in all aspects of their daily lives. The majority-minority situation was different from that in Malaysia or even the capital city Kuala Lumpur.

On the other hand, Birmingham had to abandon its ethnic mix policy which was introduced in 1969 (Rex and Tomlison,1981) because it was found that being 'involuntarily' or 'compulsorily' housed to a certain estate to get a mix of white and ethnic groups destroyed the essence of cultural and social links. The residents were deprived of the right to choose the part of the area they wanted to live in and to live near their ethnic groups.

As stated by Deakin and Ungerson (1978:328),

"No amount of dispersal by physical planning or inducement will ensure that people live fully integrated. Everyone, regardless of of ethnic origin, exercises some selection over social contacts that they value;most people choose to live within a fairly restricted- 'concentrated', if you like - circle with broadly similar characteristics. The important thing is that everyone should be free to choose, and to move outside such circles if they wish to do so: there should not be as few constraints as possible on the exercise of choice by individuals'

Clearly, the policy of social and ethnic mix had different implications depending on the context. While Singapore has an explicit and deliberate policy, Malaysia's policy of achieving a mix can still be considered a concept. It will depend on what really is the aim of the government: to create Bumiputera homeowners and increase the share of Bumiputera's wealth or to create a socially conducive environment where ethnic and social groups can interact and eventually lead to integration or both?

2.5 Conclusion

With national unity and national integration being the cliche' of the Malaysia government since the formulation of the NEP, all aspects of life are geared towards achieving this 'yet to be clearly defined' idealistic aim. It was hoped that the preferential treatments given to Bumiputera will make them more

visible economically and reduce the ethnic tensions that arise out of the economic differences between them and the 'migrant' Chinese population.

It was also hoped that when the Bumiputeras were economically at par with the Chinese, eventually they will feel contented to live within the same environment. There will no longer be an element of superiority-inferiority or the perception that one group is better than the other. However, looking on the Chinese point of view, the preferential treatments although will have a time period of only 20 years, will slow down their achievements especially for their next generation. Their children who were educated in the 1970's will not get the same treatment as those who were educated before that, because they will have to be taught in a language which was not their mother tongue, nor was it considered at par with English, the language of the world. Their children who may not yet feel the impact of the policy then but will bear the cost of the policy will be deprived in many areas and will feel at a disadvantage although they may be better in many areas than their Malay friends.

All this will be sources of discontentment to the non-Bumiputera especially those who will have to compete more for the same resources which is the mass public. The government's intention of trying to bridge the differences between the ethnic groups through the NEP may seem like a measure that will benefit both parties in the long run, but in the process of implementation, it will have an effect on the relationship between ethnic groups.

The role of housing as a tool for social integration had been used with some success in some countries, but a lot of factors had to be taken into consideration to ensure that it fulfills its objectives. In the context of Malaysia, the underlying rationale of housing mix had to be established first before any conclusions can be made. No doubt the development plan documents at

national and local level had express the desire to create a variety of affordable housing to cater for the different groups of people but in the implementation process, there is need to see how this desire will be translated.

In a multiracial country like Malaysia, the need is just not to create social mix but also to create ethnic mix. The challenge will be to see to what extent the NEP had been able to breakdown not only the 'horizontal barrier' of class division but also the 'vertical' barrier of ethnic division. With the relations between ethnic groups always on a 'cautious' mode, it will be interesting to see to what extent ethnic or class mix had brought about a difference in the social life of the residents.The next chapter will describe the relationships between the ethnic groups and the possible causes of conflicts.

CHAPTER 3

ETHNIC RELATIONS IN MALAYSIA

Key Points

The aim of this chapter is to provide a framework for understanding the form of social relationships between the ethnic groups in Malaysia and how it had evolved over the years. The key points in the chapter are that the form of relationship between ethnic groups, specifically the Malays and Chinese exists within a framework of preferential treatment grounded in the Constitution that discriminates against the Chinese. The implementation of the relevant policies had serious implications for inter-ethnic as well as intra-ethnic relationships.

3.0 What is ethnicity?

The term 'ethnic' came from the Greek word 'ethnos' meaning a company of people or nation. The term suggest a gestalt of inter-related primordial bonds of kinship, affinity, attachment and grounds for self esteem (Snyder,1990). Shibutani and Kwan (1965), on the other hand, defined ethnic groups as consisting of those who conceive themselves as being alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious and who are so regarded by others and that members of each group are often united by emotional bonds and concerned with the preservation of their type. They speak the same language and share common a heritage.

According to Ross (1982), there can be two ways to view ethnicity. The objectivists view ethnicity as ethnic boundaries which can be drawn through the identification of discrete cultural institutions and processes. The lines of ethnic demarcation follow variables such as separate languages, religions, kinship structures, dress, cuisine and organisational patterns. On the other

hand, the subjectivist view on ethnicity is that it reflects a shared 'we feeling' within a collectivity that may be internally differentiated along several objective dimensions. Ethnic boundaries are marked by lines of mutual recognition and reciprocity of exchange.

Based on these definitions of ethnicity, one can conclude that ethnicity can be viewed as either 'static' that is a very definite group of people within a definite set of relationships. The objectivist view ethnic groups as either black, white, Chinese, Malay or others, with definite structures and differentiated by specific characteristics. However, the other view looks at ethnicity as 'dynamic' or 'adaptable' and that an ethnic group can be created or constructed by instilling common virtues and values and that the boundary of ethnicity is only a state of mind. In another word, ethnicity or race are just social constructions (Jackson and Penrose,1993; Fenton,1999).

As a new nation, the government of Malaysia seemed eager to create a national identity, or in another word, create a new ethnic group which is 'Malaysian'. However, the complexity of the term 'ethnicity' and the different ways that people perceive and understand ethnicity had to be taken into account. All migrants came from Asia and on a larger scale all the groups were bounded by Asian values but the creation of a new 'ethnic group', through the process of assimilation implies the loss of some cultural traits by the groups. There is a need to understand the differences and similarities within each ethnic group and to understand what are important issues for them before embarking on the creation of a new ethnic grouping.

3.1 The Major Ethnic Groups in Malaysia

Malaysia's ethnic group can be divided into three main groups, that is the Malays/Bumiputera who formed the majority with almost 60% of the population, the Chinese who is the second largest group representing about 30% of the population and the Indians who make up about 9% of the population. About 1% of the population is categorised as others. The term

'Bumiputera' which will be used interchangeably with Malays, especially in the context of the New Economic Policy includes the indigenous people of Sabah and Sarawak in East Malaysia. Although the vast majority of Malays are Muslim, not all indigenous people are. Indigenous people formed about 11% of the Malay/Bumiputera ethnic groups and although some are Muslim, many are either Christians or animist. However, the indigenous people were considered as the 'son of the soil' or Bumiputera because they were the natives of the Malay Archipelago. Although one tend to think of the ethnic groups as being homogenous groups, each ethnic groups is actually diversified at the micro level.

The Malays of Malaysia were mostly related to the people of Indonesia where cross straits migration from the Malay Archipelago took place all the time from the era of the Malacca Sultanate in the 14th Century. Therefore, within the Malay ethnic group, there exist sub-groups of the ethnic groups in Indonesia like Javanese, Banjar, Rawa etc. However, the ability to speak the same common language which was Bahasa Melayu, and the fact that most are Muslim became a unifying force for the various subgroups. There were also Malays of Arab descendents who had settled in the then Malaya. However, they were considered Malays by virtue of their common language, religion and heritage. Hence, a Malay can be defined as a person of the Malay race who is a Muslim, speaks the Malay language and adopts the Malay custom and way of life (Lee,1986). According to Ratnam (1965), the definition of Malay was used to justify the granting of citizenship to locally born Indonesians, thus increasing the the Malay proportion of the total population. Therefore, a person who comes from a mixed parentage of Malays and others can be considered a Malay if he or she is all of the above.

However, the subjectivity and the difficulty of actually defining the term 'Malay' can be seen from the examples of Chinese, Indians or others who converted to Islam. If their customs and ways or life were dictated by the Malay customs and way of life, will that make them a Malay or will they still be considered a Muslim of Chinese origin or Muslim of Indian origin? In this

matter, the individual was left to decide either to be considered a Malay or a Muslim of Chinese origin, but most would retain the latter. Therefore, to be a Malay is not defined by race (Roosens,1989; Nash,1989).

In former times, there were 2 classes of the Malay society; the sultanate or the ruling dynasty of each Malay state which also included non-royal district chiefs and the mass peasant class or the rakyat who lived in the villages (kampungs) and basically surviving on subsistence economy. It was the sultanate or the upper class members who later benefitted from the change over of administrative power from the British government to the Malays.

The Chinese had been trading in the Malay Peninsular long before the colonisation of the European powers. Although there were evidence of intermarriages between the Chinese and the native population during the Malacca Sultanate, the numbers were small. The existence of the Peranakan community also indicated that there were Chinese traders who had settled down and been assimilated into the local way of life though still retaining their religion. The nature of the trading before the colonial period was more of a barter trade, which was more complementary thus ethnic relations were not affected by the competitive market. However, the mass of the Chinese came to Malaya with the expansion of trade and capitalism in Malaya.

The Chinese migrants who came were mostly from the southern provinces of China, with diversified cultural,religious and language differences. There were also 2 common groups of Chinese who migrated to Malaya that is one group which was English educated and was considered the bourgeoise of the Chinese migrants, and the other group which was Chinese educated and considered the proletariat of the migrants (Smith and Bastin,1967). Chinese were monetised and their involvement in the developing commercial and extractive economy began to show from 1903 onwards (Tham,1977). Although mining was the major activity for the Chinese in Malaya, it was carried out in partnership with the Malay chiefs who received a royalty from the Chinese miners (Lim,1980). Therefore, there were evidence of Malay-Chinese cooperation as well as

evidence of conflicts, not only between Malays and Chinese, but between Malay chiefs over trade and mining areas (Khoo,1972).

With mass migration, came labour segmentation. As stated earlier, Malays were not keen to work as wage labourers, hence, immigrant labour was preferred by the colonial master because it was cheap and easier to control. It was cheap because skills were acquired before they came, and docile because they could be deported at the slightest sign of trouble (Burawoy,1976). The segmentation of labour created few opportunities for direct socialising between the members of different ethnic groups at the level of production. There was little if any conflict between the different groups at this point, but the policy of segmentation was creating a stratification between the ethnic groups which later proved to be cause of ethnic conflicts.

The mass migration of the Indians were of similar times to the mass migration of the Chinese. However, the Indians had also been trading in the Peninsular, long before European colonisation. Most of the migrants came from Southern India and within the Indian community itself there existed differences in terms if culture and language, although most of them profess the Hindu religion. In many ways, there were more similarities between customs of the Malay and the Indian than there were, if any, between the Malays and Chinese. There were traces of similar rituals in many of the Malay 'adat' which was common in both Malays and Indian ways of life which could be traced to the Malacca Sultanate.

Therefore, there were less conflict among the Indians in terms of accepting Malay culture as the national culture, because there were there were similarities in terms of their culture (Karaskiewicz,1996). Being the minority, it was easier for the Indians to socialise with either the Malays or the Chinese. There were less conflicts in terms of religion (although some do eat pork, most Indians are vegetarians) and they were not economically competitive with either groups. Therefore, the Malays did not consider the Indians an economic or political threat (Stenson,1989).

Despite the intra-ethnic differences that existed within each migrating groups, each member of the group were bound by the fact that they were all migrants. Once in Malaya, there were no longer commonly known as Hokkien, Hakka, Telugu or Malayalee but simply as Chinese and Indians.

3.2 Ethnic Attitudes between Malays and Chinese

Relationship between different ethnic groups in Malaysia exist in a very complex political situation. There have not been many articles written about the nature of social relationship between different ethnic groups in Malaysia mainly because it was feared that discussing the issues with regard to ethnicity may stir up political unrest. More often than not, the government avoided openly discussing racial issues, projecting an image of racial unity and harmony between the various ethnic groups in Malaysia. However, every now and then racial sentiments resurfaced when matters of religion, culture and language became focal issues.

Ethnic relationship in Malaysia was not a form of majority-minority relationship as a whole although in the context of major cities in Malaysia it may seem so. The process of urbanisation has slowly created a new system of social stratification although 'class stratification' may not be something that is 'being aware' as opposed to 'being conscious' (Giddens,1973). What it means here is that although there were differences in the social system of the new urban society as opposed to the the traditional society (the mass and the aristocrat), it was not something that can be considered as class awareness which means common awareness and acceptance of similar attitudes, beliefs, linked to a common lifestyle among members of a class (Thompson,1983), at least not among the Malay society.

However, this may be different with the Chinese society as it had experienced urbanisation earlier than Malays and their differences in occupational status where some were the traders and some labourers may have created

stratification in terms of class. It cannot be denied that the process of urbanising the Malays especially during the New Economic Policy had created a new social 'class' of the Malay society which is the Malay middle class. A general framework of the urban society and the relationship between Malays and Chinese can be discussed based on the following simplified model by Ali (1984) as shown in Figure3.1.

Figure 3.1 Ethnic Relations

intra-ethnic relationship

inter-ethnic relationship
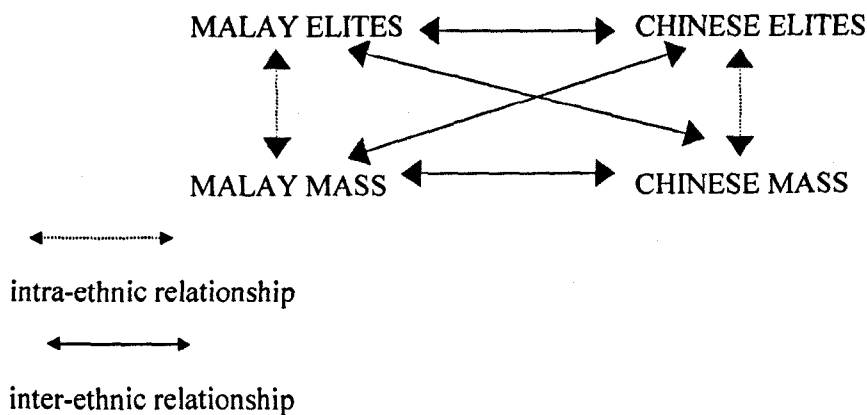
The elite Malays here refers to the ruling class of the modern Malaysia, not the aristocratic, but the elites that were created out of the administrative and business community of the ruling government. The Chinese elites referred to the powerful Chinese business community and those within the political power of the ruling government.

The relationship between mass Malays and elite Malays were mostly strengthened by Malay nationalism and religion. Although there were evidences of conflict among the Malay elite prior to independence when the differences in the political approach caused divisions between the Malay community, the present political scenario is more stable as the majority of the Malays are under the flagship of the present ruling Malay party which is UMNO (However, the current 1999 political situation in the country had caused a division amongst the loyalty of the Malay subjects which will be

highlighted in the final chapter). The other Malay based opposition political party the Parti Islam Se Malaysia (PAS) was considered too pro-religious and hence was not as popular as UMNO amongst the Malays. The affirmative action programmes although benefiting some groups of Malays more than others had overall improved the economic status of the Malay population. Table 3.1 shows the percentage of Bumiputera participation in employment from 1957 to 1990. Based on the table, it can be seen that there was an increase in Bumiputera participation in all sectors of the employment.

Table 3.1 Bumiputera participation in employment 1957, 1970 and 1990 (percentages)

	1957 (%)	1970 (%)	1990 (%)
Professional and technical	35.1	47.0	60.3
Administrative and managerial	17.5	24.1	33.3
Clerical	27.1	35.4	54.9
Sales	15.9	26.7	36.0
Agricultural	62.1	72.0	76.4
Service	39.7	44.3	61.5
Total	48.2	51.8	57.8

Source: Jomo,1990; Fourth Malaysia Plan,1981-85.
Note: the 1957 and 1970 figures refer to Pen. Malaysia, while the 1990 figures refer to Malaysia as a whole.

The relationship between the mass Chinese and the elite Chinese was not always harmonious because within the Chinese groups themselves, there existed sub-ethnic groups and differences in political ideology. The differences in the medium of education between the Chinese was also a cause of intra-ethnic rifts. The English educated Chinese had always been considered superior than their Chinese educated counterpart, even during the colonial times. The language differences between the different sub-groups was also a contributing factor in dividing intra-ethnic groups.

With inter-ethnic relationships, the relationship between elite Malays and elite Chinese can be enhanced by the need to create joint ventures in business endeavours, as encouraged in the New Economic Policy. This provides a framework for mutual social interaction between these ethnic groups. The promotion of the Bumiputera Industrial and Commercial Community has created a business situation of 'Ali-Baba' business where 'Ali' represented the Malays who is a distinguished but ineffectual chairman who stands and greet the visitors in the front room and 'Baba' representing the Chinese who is at the back of the shop churning out the profits (Long,1998). Therefore, the favouritism shown to the Malays will be openly welcome since the Chinese will benefit and some had grown richer. There relationship of these two groups can be considered a mutual same status relationship where both groups will benefit in the long run. Table 3.2 showed the mean monthly household incomes by ethnic group from 1970-1987 between Malays and Chinese.

Table 3.2 Mean monthly household incomes by ethnic group (1970-1987)

	1970	1973	1976	1979	1984	1987
Malays (M)	276	335	380	475	616	614
Chinese (C)	632	739	866	906	1086	1012
Disparity ratio (C/M)	2.30	2.21	2.28	1.91	1.76	1.65

Source: Fourth Malaysia Plan,1981-85 and Mid-term Review of the Fifth Malaysia Plan,1986-90.

Note: The disparity ratio is the ratio of the mean monthly household income between Chinese and Malays.

Economically, the relationship between the mass Malays and the mass Chinese was one that may be similar when the two groups can be considered to fall into a common class in itself. The problems of poverty in the country is actually a 'class' problem where there are poor Malays and poor Chinese but the issue is always presented as an ethnic one. Sine there is no detailed data on rate of poverty between ethnic groups, comparison cannot be made although there were higher rates of poverty in the rural areas where the Malays dominated which was 13.0% in 1995 than the urban areas where the majority of the Chinese resided which was 2.2% (Mid- term review of Sixth Malaysia Plan,1993).

The Chinese squatter areas still present in the city of Kuala Lumpur, is an indication of poverty among the Chinese residing in the cities. However, differences existed in other aspects of social life. The mass Chinese might consider the mass Malays more advantageous than them politically since UMNO is the dominating party in the ruling government and the Malays were the receipient of the affirmative action programmes. In a survey conducted by Osman (1989), a majority of the non-Malays considered that Malaysia was governed by the Malays and not the alliance of ethnic based political parties. This misconception will be one of the factors that contributes towards disintegration of ethnic relationships especially between Malays and Chinese.

Homogeneity in terms of class may not always be a 'plus' factor in terms of integration especially since there are other factors that had to be taken into consideration (Gans,1972, Darke,1969). However, the relationship between mass Malays and mass Chinese can be considered as of a competitive form, as both groups will have to compete for the same scarce resources.

The relationship between the Malay and Chinese elites and the mass Chinese and Malays can be considered as a superordinate-subordinate relationship where in both cases, the elites were the employer and the mass the employees. If the ethnic factor was not taken into consideration, the relationship between the elites and the mass can be considered as that of the bourgeoise and the proletariates. Any conflicts that may arise will mostly be due to the different economic or class status, irrespective of race.

One of the earliest study of the spatial context of ethnic relationship between Malays and Chinese was an investigation by Rabushka in 1971. He conducted an investigation on the attitudes of Chinese and Malays, mainly looking at how the Chinese perceived the Malays in two cities (Kuala Lumpur and Georgetown, Penang). In his study he divided the groups into two main categories that is the 'mixers' ie Chinese who had some form of social interaction with Malays (and vice versa) and 'non-mixers' ie groups who only socialised within their own ethnic groups.

His study revealed that there were differences between the relationship between Malays and Chinese residing in the two cities. It was found that there was a higher proportion of 'mixers' in Kuala Lumpur than in Georgetown. The higher proportion of 'mixers' may be due to a higher proportion of work force in the public sector, mostly employing Malays in Kuala Lumpur, hence there was likely to be a more Chinese-Malay social interaction pattern there. The high percentage of 'mixers' as a result of employment was also supported by a study by Osman (1981) which showed that 78% of social contacts between ethnic groups occured at workplace.

Rabushka's study further highlighted that Chinese 'non-mixers' in homogenous areas (areas with high concentration of Chinese population) were more likely to be better integrated than Chinese 'non-mixers' in mixed areas. He suggested that since Chinese 'non-mixers' in homogenous areas see less of their Malay 'friends', they were more tolerable of the attitudes. However,

'non-mixers' in mixed areas who saw their Malay neighbours more often developed contempt, thus showing a lower degree of integration. But his study supported the view that social interaction promotes better integration and that 'mixers' were better integrated than 'non-mixers'.

However, another of his tudies on ethnic attitudes among university students in the University of Malaya showed that the university was a highly polarised place. Despite the fact that a majority of them came from an ethnically mixed schools during their secondary years of education, the students were segregated at the university. This was also discovered by Karaskiewicz (1996) in his observation of the students' sitting position at the dining hall of the same university, where the students from different ethnic groups were seated separately.

Another study which looked at the relationship between Malays and Chinese is the study by Mansor and Banton (1992). Their study was concerned with variations in Malay alignment *vis-a-vis* Chinese Malaysians. In the study, they found that in many cases, Malays were more aligned to choose ethnic loyalty above self-interest and Chinese tend to underestimate the strength of ethnic loyalty among the Malays. Therefore, the Chinese may be disappointed when they expect Malays to observe nationalist, rather than ethnic ethnic norms, in certain situations and discovered that the Malays were more ethnically aligned.

However, the study also suggested that the attitudes of the Malays were mostly influenced by pluralistic ignorance that is a situation where an individual refrains from associating with someone belonging to different group for fear that his group will disapprove when in reality it may not be so. Hence, more intimate relationship between ethnic groups was prevented from happening, due to ignorance and prejudice which was built based on racial stereotyping.

3.3 Sources of Ethnic Conflict

As stated in the first chapter, there are many dimensions to the issue of ethnic relationship in Malaysia. The economic, socio-cultural, political and demographic differences are all factors that can trigger ethnic conflicts between the two groups. Different 'social classes' of both ethnic groups establish different forms of relationship. However, apart from economic and social differences that are possible sources of ethnic conflicts, one particular issue above all others is the resentment between the two ethnic groups, arising after 1970, following the implementation of the New Economic Policy, specifically as a result of Malay Special Rights.

The Malay Special Rights which was firmly established in the Constitution was actually a legacy from the colonial rule in the Federated Malay States. The philosophy underlying the idea was that even though colonialism was imposed on Malaya, the myth that Malays were still the rightful owners of the country should, and could, be maintained by granting them special status and protection (Lim,1985). Hence, the British colonial rule was the protector of Malay rights and this concept was translated in many colonial agricultural, educational and employment policies.

One of the rights of the Malays was with regard to land. The Malay peasants had the right to cultivate land and special areas were designated to them for ownership - this was the Malay Reserved Land. The land reserved for the Malays were non-transferable to non-Malays although the value was much lower than market value as it was not accepted as collateral by non-Malay traders. In education, the British government established a boarding school specifically for the children of the Malay ruling class, where English was the medium of instruction. The educated elite will later served as bureaucrats in the Malay government.

The employment structure in the 1930's reflected the rise of Malays in the administration where the composition of the central government officials in

1931 were 61% Malays, 20% Europeans and 19% non-Malays (Loh, 1975). While some aristocrats were educated in English, the rest of the Malay peasants were taught at Malay schools just sufficient to enable them to be slightly better off than their parents (Loh,1975). At that time Chinese education was fully funded by Chinese private donations while some English education was funded by the missionaries (Loh, 1975, Tilman,1964). Most non-Malays were educated in these latter schools because Malays would rather sent their children to Malay medium schools.The different streams of education further aggravated the problems of segregation between ethnic groups.

Because Malay Special Rights was policy during colonial times, it was not surprising that it was used as a basis for the New Economic Policy. The rights were affecting the relationship between Malays and Chinese even before they manifest themselves in a grand scale in the New Economic Policy. Far from improving the economic status of the Malays, the protective policies actually kept the Malays behind, while the other communities made economic progress in other employment sectors. This was because the Malays were concentrated in the agricultural and fishery sectors, while the Chinese and Indians were employed in the higher income sectors like sales and services (Puthucheary,1960).

The setting up of special vocational and training institutions for the Malays and generous scholarships were part of the special rights programs to improve the level of education among the Malays. In the 1960 there was only one university in Malaysia which was the University of Malaya and the non-Malays made up more than 75% of the students. Malays were not able to enter the university because most of their education was terminated after their sixth year of education that is by the time that were 12 years old. Many were not privileged enough or could not afford to educate children in their secondary years, because the schools were mostly located in the cities.

The implementation of the special rights and later the New Economic Policy generated feelings of animosity and conflicts between the Malays and non-Malays. The fact that they were geographically segregated did not improve the situation. The implementation of the New Economic Policy have triggered off the opposite reaction to that intended. While the special rights prior to New Economic Policy could be implemented through small scale ad hoc programmes, the implementation of the NEP became the core of every development programmes from 1970 onwards.

3.4 The Implementation of the New Economic Policy and its Effect on Ethnic Relationship

The implementation of the policy manifests itself in almost all sectors.The achievements of the Bumiputera in terms of bridging the economic differences between the different ethnic groups can be seen in many areas. In terms of the economy, the New Economic Policy had been able to increase the share of the Bumiputera owned companies from 1 % in 1969 to 20% by 1990 (Economic Planning Unit,1990).

However, the share and distribution of the Bumiputera equity was carried out through trusteeship. Agencies were set up to distribute financial aid independently without effective control. Therefore a system of corruption and self-enrichment developed to the advantage of the Malay elite involved in these agencies (Osman-Rani,1990). According to Mehmet (1990), the trusteeship system can be abused by those in power and influence, particularly the bureaucrats, aristocratic, military, political and even the religious elites, enriching themselves while the ordinary people continued to live in poverty.

In the area of education, with a 55% ratio of Bumiputera to 45% non-Bumiputera intake in the local universities, many Bumiputeras were now able to pursue higher level education at subsidised cost while the non-Bumiputeras who did not make it to the local universities had to pursue their education at the private institutions or abroad which cost a lot more.

In 1970, there were 75% non-Bumiputera in the local universities, but in 1990, the percentage dropped to 40% (Sixth Malaysia Plan,1991). As stated earlier, the universities were polarised then and there are still polarised now. As reported in the local daily newspaper *The Star* on June 8 1995, students at the local universities were still segregated in terms of their residential arrangements and participation in social activities. Although most of the primary and secondary schools are now mixed, racial integration was still a long way to come for the educated groups in the society.

The educational opportunities were also reflected in the occupational change of the Bumiputeras. One of the strategies in the NEP was the creation of a viable Bumiputera business community and the field of education was expanded to cater for this change. Overall there was an increased in the proportion of Bumiputera in all employment categories as shown in table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Malaysia : Employment by Occupation (Malay and Chinese, 1970 and 1995)

Occupation	1970		1995	
	Bumiputera %	Chinese %	Bumiputera %	Chinese %
Professional/ Technical	47.0	39.5	64.4	26.4
Administrative/ Managerial	24.1	62.9	33.5	58.1
Clerical	35.4	45.9	57.7	34.7
Sales	26.7	61.7	38.8	54.4
Services	44.3	39.6	64.4	24.8
Agriculture	72.0	17.3	79.5	13.1
Production	34.2	55.9	53.5	33.6
Total	51.8	36.6	60.1	30.4
Ethnic proportion	52.7	35.8	61.2	30.0

Source: Malaysia, Mid-term review Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-1995), J.K. Sundaram (1989). Note:The figures did not include the proportion of the Indians.

While the proportion of Malays was showing a rapid increase, the proportion of the Chinese showed a decline. The change in the occupational structure of the Bumiputeras can be equated with the formation of the new class which was the middle class. While the middle class from other ethnic groups were already in existence even before the implementation of the NEP, the middle class Bumiputeras were the product of government programmes. Although the members of the middle class might reacted to similar ways to a wide range of issues, there was still the ethnic line dividing them. According to Muzzafar (1984:377),

"if the changeover from one community dominant situation to a multiethnic situation creates some ethnic discord in most circumstances....it is bound to be even disharmonious when it has been brought to some extent by ethnic quotas in factories, firms, offices, colleges"

3.5 Conclusion and research objectives

The relationship between any ethnic groups is a complex and intricate matter. The concept of ethnicity itself is complicated and very subjective. This chapter has tried to present a simplified version of the delicate and obscure form of ethnic relationship between Malays/Bumiputera and Chinese. The relationship was affected by the changes in the policy of the government, by giving preferences to the majority of the population who were economically backward, because it was thought that economic differences were the root of the problems between the ethnic groups.

The implementation of the NEP had proven its success economically in many areas. It was not important that one group was discriminated and felt underprivileged despite the government's aim of achieveing unity and national integration. The NEP which covered a period of 20 years from 1970-1990 was expected not to be continued after that but the issue of the special rights of the Malays can always be use to the advantage of the Malays. Will the converging differences between the Bumiputera non-Bumiputera proved to be fruitful in

achieving national unity? Are the ethnic groups more united now than they were 20 or 30 years ago or has the implementation of the NEP driven the society apart? These are some of the questions that needed constant reviewing. An affirmative program is an aspect of redistributing unequal resources between groups in the society. When resources are unequally distributed between social groups purely on economic criteria, the end product will be a class stratification. The Bumiputera middle class was the product. According to Hecter (1978), when certain ethnic or gender group are not only differentiated and segmented but also hierachically slotted into the stratification system of society which is the class system, they assume a vertical dimension. Therefore, ethnic and class membership tend to overlap. Affirmative action programmes only remove the segmentation aspect which is dispersing the ethnic groups into various classes, without eliminating the vertical dimension thereby creating inequality as a whole. It was unlikely that social harmony between the ethnic groups can be achieved for as long as there were inequality, more so if the assistance given is to the majority and not those in need irrespective of ethnic groups.

The policy of residential and ethnic mix may seemed ideal but what is important will be the underlying rationale behind it. If truly there was a need to ensure that the policy was working to achieve its aim of achieving national unity, then it should be fully monitored.The next chapters will try to operationalise the concept of ethnic relationship through a framework of social interaction patterns and integration in residential areas in Kuala Lumpur. The social implication of the NEP policy can only be measured through the behaviour and attitudes of the ethnic groups. The extent of impact of the policy will have to be seen through the feelings of the recipients. It will not be sufficient to show success in 'integrating' the society economically without understanding the 'latent' feelings of either resentment or amity between the ethnic groups. Therefore, in order to understand the social concept of ethnic relationship within a spatial context, the concept will have to operationalised. This will be done by looking at the social relationship between different ethnic

groups within the an environment where differences and similarities can be investigated.

An area that will provide the setting to investigate the form and nature of social relationship will have to be located. In order to investigate similarities and differences, social relationship between ethnic groups in different settings will be studied. To make comparisons, the two areas will have to be different. Since the social relationship between ethnic groups can take place either in a mixed environment or a homogenous environment, therefore, one of the areas selected will be the homogenous area and the other will be the mixed area. Hence, comparison between the forms of social relationship between ethnic groups can be made. The social relationship to be studied will cover the aspects of social interaction patterns and integration level at domestic sphere and outside the domestic sphere (work and socialising environment). The homogenous area will be areas that will have a concentration of Chinese and Malays and the mixed areas will be areas that will have a mixture of ethnic groups.

The most suitable location will be an urban area since competition and conflicts between ethnic groups will be more apparent. Consequently, the social relationship between ethnic groups in this urban area can be compared to see if living in a mixed environment had brought about any positive influences on the social interaction pattern or is the social relationship better in homogenous environments. The research hopes to answer the following questions:

1. What is the form of social relationship between Malays and Chinese residing in different types of residential areas?
2. Are there differences in the form of social interaction patterns and levels of integration between Malays and Chinese residing in different types of areas?
3. What are the factors that can explain the social interaction patterns and integration levels between Malays and Chinese residing in different types of areas? Is the ethnic factor more important than social class factors?

4. Does the policy of mixing ethnic groups work? Do those living in mixed areas interact more with their ethnically different neighbours and are the ethnic groups more integrated?

5. Are those who socialised with other ethnic groups more integrated than those who did not?

6. What are the implications of ethnic mix on future policies for the local authorities in the country?

The next chapter will provide a description of Kuala Lumpur, the capital city of Malaysia and the area where the social relationship between ethnic groups will be studied.

CHAPTER 4

THE DEVELOPMENT OF KUALA LUMPUR AND ITS IMPACT ON THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Key Points

The aim of this chapter is to provide a historical context for the development of Kuala Lumpur and the origin of ethnic segregation in the city. The key issue is that the landuse and ethnic segregation were the outcome of occupational segregation and cultural differences in the early development of the city. The move towards reducing the segregation was sparked off by an incident of racial riots in the late sixties. Policies in the Kuala Lumpur structure plan were formulated to reduce the issues of racial polarisation.

4.0 Why Kuala Lumpur?

The choice of Kuala Lumpur as the study area rather than other towns with heterogenous population, like Penang and Ipoh, was based on three factors. First and foremost, Kuala Lumpur is the capital city of Malaysia. Before 1982, it was part of Selangor but was granted Federal Territory status making it an autonomous region with a direct link with the federal government. Its day to day administration is handled by the City Hall of Kuala Lumpur headed by the city mayor. The mayor of Kuala Lumpur is appointed by the Federal Government. As the seat of the Federal Government administration, the development of the city will be very much influenced by the central government's policies.

The second reason for choosing Kuala Lumpur lies in its historical context. Kuala Lumpur was a mining town and was created by Chinese immigrants who came to work in the tin mines. Hence, the Chinese have always formed the major proportion of the town's population. Unlike Penang, which began as

the seat of the British administration in the north, or Ipoh in the State of Perak which also started off as a mining town, the history of Kuala Lumpur was marred by ethnic riots after the country's general election in 1969. The element of racial tension was more evident in Kuala Lumpur than in other parts of the country because the Chinese-led opposition party won many seats there compared to the the alliance party which was multiracial. This formed a good starting point for investigating the level of inter-racial relationship.

The last reason for choosing Kuala Lumpur was because it was the first local authority to implement the structure plan system and it had in its structure plan report an explicit policy for achieving a balanced ethnic mix in the residential areas (Social and Community Services Sector Policy CS4 and CS5, Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan,1984,p 127).

4.1 The Early Development of the City

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, many villages sprang up where the opencast tin mines came into existence at the plains and western foothills' of the peninsular and Kuala Lumpur was one of these villages which quickly developed into one of the most prosperous urban settlements in the country.

The Chinese played an important role in the early history of the city and the administrative powers were handed by the rulers of the State of Selangor to the most powerful Chinese known as the Kapitan China. Yap Ah Loy, the third Kapitan China of Kuala Lumpur, made such a profound success in developing the mining settlement of Kuala Lumpur that 'Kuala Lumpur in 1880 was Yap Ah Loy's Kuala Lumpur' (Gullick,1955). The shifting of the administrative centre from Klang to Kuala Lumpur by the colonial government was of major importance to the development of the city which otherwise would have been abandoned with the exhaustion of tin.

Developed along the eastern banks of the Klang/Gombak rivers, in the early days, the landuse of the town was segregated and occupied by different ethnic groups. To the north of the town was located the Sumatran Malay quarter, the central part of the town the Chinese quarter and further south the Indian quarter. Later, the Malay and Indian quarters were acquired by the economically affluent Chinese (Sidhu, 1978).

In 1899, the British Resident of Selangor ordered the first Malay reserve to be created close to the main town of the Kuala Lumpur. The reason was to ensure that the early Sumatran Malay settlers in the area were not driven out of their settlement by the rapid expansion of the town. Named the Malay Agricultural Settlement, a Board of Management was appointed in 1900 to manage and maintain the Settlement (Hands,1955). Until today, the settlement still exists but has now became part of the modern Kuala Lumpur as the city's development spread out further.

4.2 Landuse Patterns in Kuala Lumpur

According to Gullick (1955), a distinct pattern of residential segregation has been evident since 1880. When the administrative seat of the colonial government was shifted from Klang to Kuala Lumpur, the western bank of the rivers Gombak/Klang was reserved for the European settlers. The other settlers were confined to the eastern bank of the river.

Segregation was further strengthened by the situation faced by the successive waves of fresh immigrants. Some voluntarily segregated themselves when they flocked to the quarters that housed people from the same village in their country of origin, others had no choice but to lived where they were near their place of work. These people consisted mainly of Indian and Ceylonese origin who were brought in to be employed in the government services.

To keep pace with population growth, the city's boundaries were periodically expanded, constantly encroaching upon the rural Malay settlements located on the urban peripheries. However, since Malay Agricultural Settlements were not allowed to be sold to non-Malays, this area emerged as a Malay stronghold within the city, as the city expanded around it, thus contributing towards ethnic segregation. The creation of Chinese New Villages close to the existing town mainly during the Emergency period (1948-1960) had increased the number of more Chinese areas as the city expanded. The resettlement of the rural Chinese was a measure to curb the spread of Communism and to facilitate defence against Communist attacks.

Occupational segregation also reinforced ethnic segregation in the city, especially in the pre-independence period when division of labour sharply followed ethnic lines. The Malays were mostly involved in the civil service, the armed and police forces. The Chinese monopolised the economic sector of the employment, in retailing and manufacturing, while the Indians were concentrated in the railways and public works department. Hence, in terms of settlement patterns, the Chinese dominated in the central business district and manufacturing sites, the Malays in the army and police barracks, and the Indians in the quarters close to the railway and public works sites.

Ethnic segregation was also strengthened by cultural factors. Differences in language, custom and religion had created further segregation amongst the different immigrants. According to Purcell (1965) 'a barrier is raised by the laws of Islam, but in practical terms this boils down to simple taboos such as those against pork and dogs'.

Little change can be observed in the distribution of the landuse pattern of the different ethnic groups post independence. The present geographical distribution of the different ethnic groups can be summarised as follows:

1. The Malays

The settlement areas of the Malays can be grouped into three main categories which are a) the Malay Agricultural Settlement areas, like Kampung Baru and Kampung Dato Keramat which can be distinguished from the neighbouring areas by their 'rural Malay kampung' appearance; b) the institutional areas associated with the army and police; c) the peripheral settlement towards the northern and western part of the city close to the border of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor.

2. The Chinese

The Chinese areas were mostly in five main settlement areas in the city, namely a) the Chinatown in downtown Kuala Lumpur which used to be the city centre of the old Kuala Lumpur; b) the 'New Villages' created during the Emergency period which had been incorporated through urban expansion; c) residential areas along the established old inter-city networks; d) the manufacturing and industrial zones; e) the high rise low cost flats in the city centre built in the early sixties.

3. The Indians

The Indians were mostly located in the Sentul and Brickfields area, formerly the sites of the railway workshops. Their concentration in these two areas is explained by the fact that in the pre-Second World War period more than three quarters of the railway workers were Indians and Ceylonese. However, apart from the two settlement areas, the concentration of the Indian settlement patterns had been diluted to make way for newer public housing.

4. The mixed areas

Apart from these segregated districts inhabited by the specific racial groups, other settlement areas are more heterogenous. Similarities in occupational status have brought the different ethnic groups together. Mixed community settlement areas are associated with high class residential neighbourhoods.

One such area is Kenny Hill, the hilly western part of the city near the Lake Gardens. According to McGee (1971), the areas embracing Kenny Hill, Damansara Heights and Lake Gardens were formerly high cost housing sites for colonial administrators but by 1970, 35% Malays, 35% Chinese and 17% Indians and not more than 13% European (categorised as others in the census) occupied those areas. Other mixed areas are the newer public low cost housing located in the new development sites further out from the city centre and the newer middle income residential areas in the suburbs of Kuala Lumpur.

Segregation along ethnic lines is still evident, despite considerable changes in the Kuala Lumpur's ethnic composition. Among the low income groups, ethnic mixing is likely to occur only in the newer public low cost housing where there was a quota system of housing allocation. The majority of the squatter settlements (associated with low income settlements) were generally monoethnic. In 1984, it was estimated that only 17% of the squatter settlements exhibited mixed ethnic composition (City Hall of Kuala Lumpur,1984).

4.3 The Spatial Distribution of Kuala Lumpur's Population

Although in the early days, Kuala Lumpur was known as Yap Ah Loy's Kuala Lumpur or a Chinese town, the Chinese population had been experiencing a decline and by 1970, the population of the Chinese in the city was down to 57% from 73% in 1891 when the city was founded. On the other hand, the Malay population had been experiencing an increase from 12% in 1891 to 24% in 1970 though between the years there was a marginal decline before increasing rapidly prior to independence in 1957 to form almost a quarter of the city's population. By 1990, the Malay population had increased to 38%. Table 4.1 shows the distribution of the Malay and Chinese population from 1947 to 1990.

Table 4.1 Kuala Lumpur's Ethnic Composition 1947-1990

YEAR	CHINESE %	MALAY %	INDIAN %	OTHERS %	TOTAL
1947	63.0	12.0	18.0	7.0	100.0
1957	62.0	15.0	16.0	7.0	100.0
1970	55.0	25.0	18.0	2.0	100.0
1980	54.0	28.0	17.0	1.0	100.0
1990	45.0	38.0	16.0	1.0	100.0

Source: Lee, 1976, Population and Housing Census,1990

There seemed to be a less polarised situation of ethnic imbalance in terms of the overall distribution of population. The increase in the Malay population from the 1970's was caused by the deliberate government stimulation of the growth of the Malay areas by expanding the employment sector especially in the armed, police forces and the administration. The Malays experienced the highest increase in population which was 6.1 % in the period 1981-1985. Most of the rural to urban migration were due to expanding employment and educational opportunities and the Malay migrants were mostly in the young age category of between 20-30 years (Osman,1989).

However, the distribution of the population was not accompanied by a more balanced mix of population over micro areas. The Chinese continued to dominate in the Chinese areas and the Malays in the Malay areas. A further analysis using enumeration districts provided by the statistics department is shown in table 4.2. In 1980 there were 15 enumeration districts. These districts consisted of population ranging from 25000 to 250,000. Out of the 15 enumeration districts, 10 had a percentage of Chinese higher than the Malays, 4 (zone 2,6,8,12) districts had a higher percentage of Malays and only one district (zone 13) showed an almost equal percentage of Malays and Chinese.

The Statistics Department was not able to supply detailed infomation on employment category by ethnicity for 1980 hence an analysis on the distribution of employment by ethnicity could not be done. However, in

general, 33% of the total work force in Kuala Lumpur was involved in the production, transportation and labourer sectors, followed by 18% in clerical and 15% in services sectors. The professional/ technical and administrative/managerial sectors formed only 11% of the work force in Kuala Lumpur for that year. The Classification of Employment used in the 1980 Census were professional/technical, administrative/managerial, clerical, sales, services, agricultural and production, transportation and labourer. Most of the zones which showed a higher percentage of Chinese population were located in the city centre which had traditionally been the domain of the Chinese. These zones were also the central business district of the Federal Territory and were the old part of the city.

Table 4.2 Distribution of Malays and Chinese by Enumeration Districts, 1980

Zone	% of Malays	% of Chinese
1	20.2	68.7
2	55.6	35.4
3	34.6	48.5
4	23.7	50.2
5	23.9	65.4
6	62.0	24.1
7	17.5	66.4
8	66.8	17.2
9	8.9	77.4
10	18.9	70.3
11	18.5	65.6
12	41.1	28.6
13	47.7	41.7
14	6.4	81.4
15	38.2	56.4

Source: Population and Housing Census, 1980

However, in 1990, there were 24 enumeration districts. 8 existing districts in 1980 were subdivided to create another additional 9 districts. The percentage

breakdown of population by ethnicity is shown in Table 4.3 for the 24 districts.

Table 4.3 Distribution of Malays and Chinese by Enumeration Districts, 1990

Zones	% Malays	% Chinese
1	32	57
2	63	25
3	38	40
4	14	60
5	14	73
6	59	17
7	22	54
8	66	9
9	15	68
10	33	51
11	28	54
12	42	25
13	66	16
14	10	82
15	49	45
16	62	29
17	52	34
18	58	20
19	40	43
20	22	58
21	6	76
22	35	57
23	28	63
24	28	48

Population and Housing Census, 1991

Out of 24 enumeration districts, 13 showed a higher percentage of Chinese, 8 had a higher percentage of Malays and 3 districts (3,15 and 19) showed an almost equal percentage of Malays and Chinese. However, these 3 areas which showed a mix population need not necessarily indicate a balanced and mixed area at the microscale because the three districts had a total population of

73,679 (approximately 14 000 households) which can still be segregated at the micro level. The Chinese dominated areas had approximately 61,000 households and the Malay dominated areas approximately 44 000 households. The new districts which were subdivided from past enumeration districts also did not show any significant changes in the ethnic patterns.

Where it was previously a Chinese dominated area, the new subdivided area also showed a majority Chinese population except for 2 zones which showed the new areas to be dominated by a different ethnic group. This seems to suggest that the population in these areas were actually segregated at the micro level. Detailed information on employment category by ethnicity was supplied by the Statistics Department.

The 1990 Census gave a 9 employment category, breaking down the last category to 3 separate categories that is Production, Transportation and Labourer with the others remaining the same.

Table 4.4 Distribution of Employment Category by Ethnicity, 1990

Employment Category	% of Malays	%of Chinese
Professional	6.8	5.6
Administration/Managerial	2.1	3.9
Clerical	12.3	8.4
Sales	3.9	12.6
Services	9.0	5.1
Agricultural	0.3	0.2
Production	1.2	3.3
Transportation	2.9	6.2
Labourer	5.4	8.5

Source: Statistics Department,1991

Note: The distribution of employment category by ethnicity did not include Indians and other ethnic groups.

The Chinese seemed to be more involved in the Administration/Managerial,Sales, Production, Transportation and Labourer compared to the Malays. However, a further analysis to investigate if there was any significant employment category in relation to ethnicity based on the enumeration districts did not show any segregation in terms of employment category by area. That is, there do not seem to be any districts that show a higher employment category for one ethnic group. This implied that occupational segregation by area was not in evident. Generally, all districts showed a distribution of all employment categories. This seemed to support earlier studies by Rees (1979) which suggested that when social class is defined in terms of occupation, there appears to be less spatially segregated then if education or income were used as the basis of measurement. However, since no data on either educational level or income was available for the enumeration districts, further analysis to identify spatially segregated areas by 'class' (ie income, and level of education) was unable to be done. What can be summarised is that in 1990, there seemed to be ethnic segregation in terms of geographical location, but not in terms of occupation.

4.4 Residential Segregation In Kuala Lumpur

Much of the literature on residential segregation in the Western context discusses the issue of residential segregation, based on studies of minorities and the problems of access to public housing in different towns at different times (Henderson and Karn,1984, Sarre,1986, Rex and Moore,1967). However, all have broadly similar findings that is the minorities were at a disadvantage in terms of access to public housing, getting the poorer quality property and tending to be concentrated in certain areas. This was because within the minority groups themselves, there exist sub- categories or sub-communities like the single parent families, the old aged pensioners etc. Hence, the studies were able to focus on the issues of segregation of this group of population.

The earliest studies of residential segregation suggested that the residential structure of the city is a natural process of competition, dominance and succession resulting in various zones as explained by Burgess's concentric zones and Hoyt's sectoral zones. Known as the ecological tradition, these approaches made famous by the Chicago School were criticised on the basis that it did not take into account housing market processes as a factor which led certain sectors of the market to be located in certain parts of the city (Bassett and Short,1980). Although it attempted to explain which groups were located where, it failed to give an answer to how and why they got there.

The development of neo-classical economics has also influenced the development of thoughts in understanding residential location. The neo-classical models of residential location put forward the proposition that there is a relationship between housing and travelling costs. Based on the hypothesis that households trade off travel costs against housing costs, this approach tried to look at residential location as a result of shorter travel time, more leisure time or bigger housing space. However, this approach was also considered inadequate in explaining the real reasons for choosing particular location, because it did not take into account social factors like choice of neighbourhood.

According to Gray (1976) many groups are constricted and constrained from choice because of their position in the housing market since households are not autonomous decision making units. Their decisions were made in an environment where there were interactions between different individuals and institutions called agents and these agents have different objectives. The choice of residential location had to be made within a system which was highly organised and consisted of a number of interacting institutions, like the public authorities and the agencies involved in the housing industries. The process of allocation of land was considered a local political activity (Harvey, 1973) because in allocating different spaces to different groups, it also introduced the element of unequal distribution of power and wealth. This ideas were also

influenced by Weberian idea of 'class' and evolved into the concept of housing classes by Rex and Moore (1967) in their study of Sparkbrook. The concept of housing classes came about from analysing the conflict over the scarce housing resources. The factors which determined access to housing were income, occupation and ethnic status of individuals as well as the allocation rules of the public and private sector. This had resulted in certain groups being located in certain areas not by choice but by the constraining rules of allocation.

Sarre (1986) attempted to explain the factors of choice and constraint in ethnic minority housing through a structurationist point of view. According to him, the question of residential segregation as a polarised view of choice and constraint must be look upon as an integrated view of the aspect of choice within a system of constraint. Residential segregation can only be explained by looking at a wide variety of factors, which involve both the individuals and the agencies involved . He outlined five sets of factors that affect the housing outcomes of minority households either by affecting the actions they take or by influencing the way institutions respond. The factors were:

1. Cultural predispositions which migrants bring with them and which affect their goals and behaviour for many years. These may range from intention to return to their homeland to preferences for one tenure or the other.

2. The economic resources available to the minorities which are extremely important in a capitalist housing market and which provide the 'normal' basis of sorting households.

3. Resources of knowledge which affect the minorities' ability to play the system both by restricting their view of the opportunities available and limiting their success in obtaining desired outcomes even where they might be economically feasible.

4. Household structures of the minorities which may be different from the expectations of the host society.

5. Intentional or unintentional discrimination by the institutions.

How can these approaches be used to describe the residential segregation in Kuala Lumpur? An earlier study by Agus (1991) had discovered that, although there has been an increase in the number of Bumiputera residing in Kuala Lumpur since 1970, the spatial structure had not changed much in terms of the distribution of population by ethnicity. Despite an increase in the number of Malays in the city in 1990, the increase was concentrated in pre-dominantly Malay areas and likewise for the Chinese. While drastic changes in terms of numbers have taken place, the basic pattern remains the same. As stated earlier, the segregation of geographical pattern was not accompanied by occupational segregation. This seemed to imply that Malays and Chinese irrespective of what their occupation is tend to reside in areas where the majority of their ethnic groups resided. Their occupational mobility did not affect their choice of location.

Historically, Kuala Lumpur's population was segregated as a result of cultural preferences, ie migrants tend to reside where their ethnic groups were concentrated, as well as occupational specialization. The Government's policy of eliminating economic differences by racial groups has succeeded in dissolving occupational segregation by area, but not ethnic segregation.

4.5 Residential Integration in the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan

As stated above, ethnic segregation is still in evident in Kuala Lumpur. This does not imply that no move was made to integrate the ethnic groups. On the contrary, Kuala Lumpur was the first local government to acknowledge that the polarisation of ethnic groups was some cause for concern. In the process of

preparing its Structure Plan in 1984, studies about ethnic polarisation were emphasised in two consultant's reports prepared during the structure plan process. (The process of the structure plan preparation will be discussed in Chapter 6).

Suffice to say now that the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan was formulated at a time when the New Economic Policy was being implemented. Thus the policy became an all encompassing policy which manifested itself in many sectors. One of the sectors which saw the manifestation of the New Economic Policy is housing. The broad policy guideline stated that 'the authority shall ensure the development of all types of housing'. The local authority had a 30-50% quota for low cost housing as a working policy and an implicit policy of 30% quota for Bumiputera/Malays in the allocation process (City Hall,1997).

This means that in any new residential areas built after the implementation of the Structure Plan, 30-50% of the development in public and private sector housing will have to be for low cost housing and 30-50% of the houses built will be allocated for Bumiputera/Malays. This implied that on the whole, one can expect that at least a third of the newly built residential areas will be occupied by Bumiputera/Malays. Indirectly, this seemed like a move to ensure a mixture of population in residential areas.

Being aware that the city was highly polarised, the local authority also made a move to integrate different ethnic groups through the design of residential areas as stated in the Community and Social Services Sector Policies CS4 and CS5 of the Kuala Lumpur Draft Structure Plan Report where 'the authority will ensure that the design of residential areas will promote better integration through the provision of common facilities'(CS5) and 'the authority shall ensure that there is a balanced and ethnic mix in the residential areas' (CS4).

On the whole, in terms of residential integration through housing and community and social services policies, there seems to be an effort by the local authority to integrate not only different classes of society but also different ethnic groups in residential areas. In real terms, though, despite the allocation of 30% of housing units for low income group and 30% for Bumiputera/Malays, segregation between income groups and ethnic groups can still occur at the micro level. The site for the low cost housing (which is usually high rise flats) may be built on a site that is segregated from the rest of the development (which was normally the case) thus creating class segregation. In terms of housing allocation, Chinese and Malays may chose a unit close to where their ethnic groups lived especially for the middle and high income groups where they can make a choice. Hence, ethnic segregation can still occur at the block level. For the low income group, the process of balloting by most public housing agencies means that there is greater likelihood for a more mixed residential structure within a public housing scheme.

4.6 Conclusion

Kuala Lumpur was chosen as the study area because of its historical context where it began as a Chinese mining town and the shift from a mining town to an administrative centre had brought an influx of migrants which changed the internal structure of the city. In the later years of its development, the government's policy of encouraging the growth and development of the city had increased the population, mostly through the process of rural to urban migration. The creation of new growth centres as a strategy in the structure plan provided the impetus for the increase of Bumiputera/Malay participation in the local economy.

The influx of migrants did little to change the distribution of ethnic groups. The different ethnic groups were still polarised and concentrated at their traditional settlements. The polarisation of ethnic groups was a cause for

concern for the local authority. The ethnic enclaves were seen as unhealthy for the purpose of social integration especially since it was the aim of the federal government to encourage and foster better relationship between ethnic groups in light of achieveing national integration.

As a move towards breaking down ethnic polarisation, the local authority in its structure plan, formulated policies specifically to integrate the ethnic groups through the provision of affordable and suitable housing and encouraging the mixture of ethnic groups through the process of housing allocation. Although the allocation of housing may not achieve total integration of ethnic groups in terms of a total balanced mix, the move towards providing 30% quota for Bumiputera/Malays will ensure that each new residential developments will have a distribution of all ethnic groups provided the policy is implemented and subsequently the proportion is maintained or dwellings change ownership over the years.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Key Points

The key points in this chapter will be the methods involved in the data collection, the sample size, the questionnaire and the survey process. The problems encountered in the survey process are also highlighted.

5.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe the methods involved in the data collection process. The information gathered was analysed to find if there are any differences in social interaction patterns between members of ethnic groups (Malays and Chinese) residing in different types of housing areas (homogenous and mixed). As stated earlier, there were two main issues in the research, that is, firstly to establish if there was a specific social policy agenda by the local authority for mixing different ethnic groups in residential areas and secondly to establish if the interethnic socialising influenced social interaction patterns and the level of integration between ethnic groups. The question is whether there is a significant difference in social interaction patterns and the levels of integration between Malays and Chinese residing in different types of residential areas that is, in mixed and monoethnic areas. It was expected that Malays and Chinese residing in homogenous neighbourhoods exhibit the same social interaction patterns and level of integration as Malays and Chinese residing in mixed neighbourhoods.

5.1 Definition of terms

To recap the definition of social interaction and integration which was already described in Chapter 2, the terms social interaction and integration is defined as follows:

Social interaction:

Social interaction is defined as a process of communicating, the exchange of information or instructions and in the process, behaviour is affected. Social interaction involves a system of inter-dependence between two actors such that the action of one affect the outcome of the other (Rabushka.1971). In this study, social interaction is about behaviour. It will be assessed by studying socialising patterns between ethnic groups.

Integration:

In general, there are two alternative conceptions on integration: firstly integration can be viewed as a social condition and secondly integration as a demographic condition (Molotch, 1972). Integration as a social condition involves the process of social relations that exist within a social system consisting of members from different racial groups. On the other hand, integration as a demographic condition is more concerned about the idea of racial mixing, with no implications about the quality of social life in the mixed area (Smith, 1998). The focus of this research will be on the social view of integration, looking at the measurement of integration based on several items of integrative attitudes between Malays and Chinese. Integrative attitudes is defined as a willingness or readiness to cross over ethnic boundaries (Chiew,1978). This means tolerance and acceptance of other communities.

Ethnic group:

The ethnic group under study will be the Malays and Chinese. These two ethnic groups formed the majority in the population of the country as well as in Kuala Lumpur. Indians are only a minority and not considered a threat to political and national stability (Tan,1982). The term Bumiputera (son of soil -

which included Malays and other indigenous groups like Iban or Kadazan) will be used interchangeably with Malays.

5.2 Why survey?

Considering that the research aims to elicit information with regard to behaviour and attitudes,one should ask if survey is the appropriate method used to gather this kind of information. Why not field research as a choice of studying human behaviour in their natural setting? Before embarking on the formulation of the research design, different approaches were taken into consideration. However, due to practical consideration of time, accessibility to the study area and the subjects, it was decided that a social survey will be more suitable as a means of gathering some general information about the nature of social interaction and integration for this research. Field research required establishing relationships with the subjects under investigation. According to Karp and Kendall (1982),

"Good fieldwork .....depends crucially upon discovering the meaning of social relations, and not just those characterizing the natives' relations with each other. It depends equally upon discovering the meanings of anthropologists' relations with people they study."

In the case of this research, the study of social integration in different types of residential areas amongst Malays and Chinese will require the researcher to live within the different environments of the different neighbourhoods for long periods of at least 6 months or more so that relationships with the neighbours can be established, patterns and routines can be observed and with the time and cost it will incur, field research was just not possible. Besides, the research will be one of the first to study the integration patterns in different residential types that is mixed and monoethnic and therefore a social survey will be suitable to provide a profile of the nature and form of social interaction patterns and integration levels between Malays and Chinese in the setting of their private lives.

According to Weisberg, Krosnick, and Bowen (1996) surveys can be used to address four broad classes of questions:

1. the prevalence of attitudes, beliefs and behaviour

2. changes over time

3. differences between groups of people in their attitudes, beliefs and behaviour and

4. causal propositions about these attitudes, beliefs and behaviour.

Hence, social surveys can be used to provide answers to questions about attitudes and behaviour like the proportion of people who agree on certain issues, comparing the opinions between groups and over time as well as identifying causes of social behaviour. Although the extent of the understanding on the attitudes and behaviours will not be in-depth, information gathered from the survey can provide the background and general understanding for further in-depth studies of the social interaction and integration patterns between different ethnic groups.

5.3 Data Gathering Methods

The research required two kinds of primary data gathering method - interviewing and social survey.

The first stage:

The first stage of the data collection involved investigating the rationale for having mixed residential neighbourhood (in terms of housing types - low cost, middle and high cost, as well as a mixture of ethnic groups). This stage involved interviewing officers from various departments involved in the process of formulating and implementing the structure plan policies in Kuala Lumpur. The aim of the interview was to establish the intention of having mix residential neighbourhoods, that is, whether mixed neighbourhoods were merely a way of putting the ethnic groups together in one area with no intention of anything other than daily interaction taking place or there was indeed an underlying intention that a mix residential area will foster better social interaction and integration between the different ethnic and social

groups.

On the whole,officers from five ministries and four housing developers were interviewed for the first stage of the data collection. The interviews were conducted over two periods of time, that is, from December 1996 to February 1997 and from August 1997 to October 1997. The first stage involved interviewing of officers from the Master Plan Unit, Kuala Lumpur City Hall, Selangor Town and Country Planning Departments and a few local authorities in the Selangor State (Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam) as well as one housing developer. This stage was also used to gather secondary information about the research area and also to establish if there was any policy at all about residential and ethnic mix within the local authorities to be studied. The interviews were semi-structured using an interview guide. The interviews focused on aspects relating to the process of policy making in the Kuala Lumpur structure plan, the process of implementating residential policies specifically looking at the policies of mixed residential neighbourhoods and the underlying reasons for having a quota, for low cost housing and a quota for Bumiputera in the allocation of residential units and the effect of the policies on the housing developers.

A second visit was required to complete the first stage of the data collection which coincided with the social survey stage because not all the departments were visited during the first time due to problems with regard to the timing of the interviews (too many public holidays in Malaysia in between that period and lack of access due to no prior contact).The second visit was more successful because prior contact was made before departure. The second visit involved interviews with officers from the Planning and Development Control Department, Kuala Lumpur City Hall, Department of National Unity, Ministry of Social Development and National Unity, Federal Territory Development Division, Federal Town and Country Planning Department and three developers. The people that were not interviewed were the consultants involved in the preparation of the Social Sector for the Technical Report of the

Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan and the former Minister of the Ministry of Federal Territory (now abolished) because they were not available.

A major problem with this stage was the difficulty in accessing secondary documents pertaining to the preparation of the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan because the technical reports and minutes of the steering committee's meeting were considered confidential and some of the reports could not be located because they were no longer being kept. It had been difficult to obtain some other reports because of the Official Secrets Act.

The second stage:

The second stage of the research involved social surveys. Face to face interviews using structured questionnaire were used as a method of collecting information from respondents who were the head of households in the selected residential areas. The sampling method employed was cluster sampling. Cluster sampling was used because the survey involved selecting respondents from areas which have a high proportion of the different ethnic groups and areas which have a mixture of both. A cluster is a naturally occuring unit like a school, a state, a county amongst others. Normally used in large surveys, it usually starts with a naturally occuring constituency as the first stage.

Multistage sampling is normally part of cluster sampling, in that the next stage involves selection of samples from the cluster members using other sampling methods like simple random, stratified or systematic. Cluster sampling and multistage sampling are considered an efficient way of collecting survey information when it is either impractical or impossible to compile an exhaustive list of units comprising the target population (Fink, 1995). Cluster sampling was also a suitable method because of cost or the lack of suitable sampling frame (Moser and Kalton, 1989,Weisberg et al,1996). Despite its advantages in terms of reducing interviewing and transport costs, cluster sampling had a great disadvantage in terms of accuracy of information where there is a strong possibility that people who live in the same area tend to be

similar so taking several interviews in the same area may yield less representative information than would be gain from distributing the same number of interviews over a wider area (Weisberg et. al,1996). However, this was overcome by including as many housing estates as possible and reducing the number of interviews per housing estate. For this survey, a sampling frame had to be prepared from other sources. The stages involved in the selection of the respondents is described next.

5.4 Stages in the Sampling Process

First Stage

The first stage involved the selection of the areas or clusters. Three types of areas were required that is areas with a high concentration of Chinese (homogenous Chinese areas), high concentration of Malays (homogenous Malay areas) and areas which had an almost similar proportion of Malays and of Chinese (mixed areas). The areas were selected based on those that have a high concentration of Malays and Chinese (more than 60 %) and areas which have an almost equal proportion (40% to 50%) of Malays and Chinese for mixed areas.This information was obtained using the 1991 census district information from the Department of Statistics. The census district information is not published by the Department, hence a formal request had to be made to the Department. A summarised copy of the census district information with the breakdown of the number of population based on the ethnic groups and the occupational sector was obtained. There were altogether 24 census districts for the Federal Territory, consisting of population ranging from 12000 to 75000. 8 districts were found to fulfill the criteria for the homogenous areas (4 for homogenous Malays - zone 2,8,13 and16 and 4 for homogenous Chinese- zone 5,14,21 and 23) and only 3 districts (zone 3, 15,19) had an almost equal proportion of both ethnic groups.

An index of dissimilarity was computed for the districts. An index of between 0-33 is considered as low segregation , between 33-66 is moderate and above 66 is highly segregated. All those clusters from the census districts which had

an index of above 33 were considered homogenous and those below 10 were considered mixed. These were then selected for the next stage, that is to select the respondents.The reason for selecting districts which had indeces of 33 and above as homogenous areas was because it provided a wider choice in selecting housing estates for both homogenous Malays and Chinese areas, since there were only 2 districts with an index of 66 and above (both Chinese areas) and 7 with index 50 and above (2 Malay areas and 5 Chinese areas). A wider spread of housing estates will provide variability in terms of the respondents.

The town centre (central planning area) was excluded in the selection of clusters because it consisted mostly of shophouses and did not contain suitable residential areas for selection.The index of dissimilarity is attached at the Appendix A and the location of clusters is shown in Appendix B.

Second stage

The next stage was to get a list of all housing estates in the selected clusters. A housing estate in the context of Kuala Lumpur is a residential area consisting of conventional types of housing bounded by major roads separating one housing estate from another, normally built public or private or as joint ventures between public and private developers. The list was obtained with the assistance of the City Hall of Kuala Lumpur, giving a breakdown of all housing estates, the types of housing and the number of units within these clusters. In Malaysia, all housing estates were given specific names by the developer for example Taman Bunga Raya, Taman Connought etc. These housing estates have a specific boundary though it was common to find one housing estate adjoining another housing estate and having another name. The housing estates varied in size, ranging from an area with about 50 units of one type of housing (normally double storey terraced housing) to more than a 1000 units of various housing types. For the purpose of this research, only housing estates with terrace houses (low, medium and high cost) with a minimum of 200 units which was built at least 5 years ago were selected in order to control for physical layout design and density of the residential areas, as a factor

which may influence social interaction between the residents. Terrace houses formed about 30% of the total housing stock for Kuala Lumpur (Statistics Department, 1991). A total of 27 housing estates were identified (8 housing estates for homogenous Malay areas, 10 for homogenous Chinese areas and 9 for the mixed areas) with an estimate of 20,000 housing units. This was about a quarter of the stock of terrace housing in the city.

Third stage

Once the housing estates within the selected clusters had been identified, the valuation list was used as the basis for formulating a sampling frame. The valuation list obtained from the City Hall contained information that identified the ownership of the property, the address of the property, the size and the types of property.This list was used by the City Hall for the annual collection of quit rent (property tax). Based on the names of the owner, the ethnic group of the house owners will be known. However, there was a possibility that the property is being rented out to someone from another ethnic group. In order to ensure that the residential areas selected fulfill the criteria of the different ethnic groupings, the electoral roll was used as a checking mechanism. The electoral roll was updated annually and the 1997 list was being reviewed during the survey period. The electoral roll was used, because it provided the most current list of individuals residing in a particular address The electoral roll listed the electors names according to the national identification number from the smallest to the biggest. Apart from the identity card number, it also has the full name and a complete address of the electors. From this information, the ethnic group of the resident can be identified. Hence, based on the list of housing estates and the ethnic groups of the registered voters listed at the particular residential areas, the major ethnic groups in the selected housing areas were ascertained.

Observation at the residential areas were also done to ensure that the selected residential areas were indeed consisting of the selected groups. It was not difficult to differentiate the ethnic groups of the occupants of the houses

because the cultural aspects of the ethnic groups will dominate the entrance of the house. A house occupied by the Malays will normally have an Arabic scriptures of the Holy verses hanged at the front door and a Chinese house will normally have the altar standing in the garden or hanged at the front door. Also, some Chinese kept dogs as pets.

5.5 The Questionnaire

A questionnaire was prepared to collect the information required in the social survey. A draft was first prepared in English and then translated to Bahasa Malaysia. It was not translated in any of the Chinese languages because it was assumed that all Chinese would have a basic understanding of the national language but a Chinese enumerator was available should there be any difficulties in the terminologies. However, the questionnaire was prepared in the simplest of the Malay language without using jargon.

The questionnaire was divided into 3 sections. (See Appendix C). The first section dealt with background information on the household, the second section dealt with information regarding the social interaction pattern and the last section asked questions that were used to analyse integration pattern. Except for section 3, the enumerators recorded all the responses for the other sections . Section 3 required the respondents to tick their choice of answers and give back the sheet to the enumerators to be kept together with the other sections in a sealed envelope after ensuring that all the questions have been answered. The reason for keeping the completed questionnaire in a sealed envelope was to ensure the respondents feel secure that their responses remain anonymous, especially with regard to section 3.

In this study, section 3 which was used to measure social integration, an adapted version of the Borgadus social distance index was used. This index was used because it provides a measurement of social distance or a degree of social acceptance between persons or groups (Miller, 1991). The scale can be used to estimate the amount of potential and real conflict that may exist

between any cultural groups as well as help to determine the extent of the trend towards conflict or cooperation between groups. The actual index consisted of five statements but the adapted version consisted of seven statements in the order that required the lowest degree of acceptance to the highest degree of acceptance. By using Guttman's scaling, two contrasting statements were formulated. A two statement scale rather than three or more was chosen in order to gauge the exact attitude with regard to certain statements. Having a neutral statement will distract a respondent from choosing the negative or positive statements in order to play safe. The integration variables were based on the following statements in order of lowest degree of acceptance to highest degree of acceptance:

1. Don't mind sharing a table in a restaurant with a Malay/Chinese.
   Reluctant to share a table with a Malay/Chinese.
2. Don't mind sharing an office space with a Malay/Chinese.
   Reluctant to share an office space with a Malay/Chinese.
3. Don't mind introducing a Malay/Chinese as a member of your club.
   Reluctant to introduce a Malay/Chinese as a member of your club.
4. Don't mind having a Malay/Chinese as your neighbour.
   Reluctant to having a Malay/Chinese as your neighbour.
5. Don't mind leaving your house keys to a Malay/Chinese neighbour in case of emergency.
   Reluctant to leave your house keys to a Malay/Chinese neighbour in case of emergency
6. Don't mind leaving your children in the care of your Malay/Chinese neighbour.
   Reluctant to leave your children in the care of your Malay/Chinese neighbour.
7. Don't mind your child marrying a Malay/Chinese.
   Reluctant to let your child marry a Malay/Chinese.

Before embarking on using the adapted instrument as a measurement of social integration, it was necessary to ensure that the instrument was valid and that the statement can be reproduced as a tool to measure social integration. Hence, it was important that the items were truly scalable. Therefore, the scalability of

the items was measured using Guttman's scale of reproducibility (see Chapter 9).

5.6 Sample size

One of the main considerations in social surveys is sample size. Should it be 10% of the population or would 5% suffice? Rather than look into the proportion of population to be sampled, the consideration of the margin of error tolerable is a more acceptable approach (Nachmias and Nachmias,1996;Weisberg et al,1996). Another important factor to be considered is the budget. Although the researcher would like to interview as many respondents as she can, the practical factors will also have to be considered.

Earlier in the research design, an estimate of 600 respondents was considered based on the assumption that the estimate population is about 30% and that a standard error of 2% would be acceptable (n=525) . Also, it was expected that there would be 20 enumerators involved in the survey and there would be financial assistance available from a research grant to cover the expenses. However, due to changes in the situation no funds were made available and only four enumerators were available (despite two months of advertising).As a result, a target of 320 respondents was accepted, with a breakdown of 160 from mixed areas and 80 each from homogenous areas. A target of 320 respondents were considered because that would be the minimum required to obtain a sample size with a standard error of 3% (n= 233). Hence, taking the above factors into consideration as well as the fact that the survey was conducted only on Sundays from 9 to 5 so as to ensure that the respondent would be in, it was estimated that an average of 8 interviews could be conducted per person per day over a two month period, and so the estimate of 320 was considered reasonable.

The likely response rate after the interview also had to be considered.The response rate will be lower if the people selected in the sample simply refuse

to be interviewed. Non-response can be a problem if the people who refuse to be interviewed differed a lot from those who responded. Non response can be problem when studying the causes or effects or variables related to survey compliance such as interest in politics, information level , fear of crimes amongst others. Although the demographics of the sample can be compared to the census data to determine how representative the sample is, non response is usually ignored. However, a response rate of 70% for face to face interview is considered acceptable by today's standard where people are less trusting (Weisberg et al,1996). For this study, the unavailability of detailed census data based on area made it not possible to compare the demographics of the sample to the population.

5.7 The selection of respondents

From the new list prepared based on the valuation list, the ethnicity of the property was identified from the selected housing estates. About 2612 properties were listed under Bumiputra ownership in the Malay homogenous areas, about 2940 properties were listed under Bumiputra ownership and 3675 properties were listed under the Chinese ownership in mixed areas and 9232 properties were listed under Chinese ownership in homogenous Chinese areas. Only the respective ethnic groups within the categorised house types were selected ie only the Malays in Malay areas, Chinese in Chinese areas and both ethnic groups in mixed areas. The respondents were selected based on systematic sampling. A total of 223 interviews were conducted. The breakdown of interviews targetted and achieved are are shown in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Breakdown of Interviews

Areas	Target	Successful interviews	Success Rate	Non response
Mixed areas	160	112	70%	48
(Malays)	(80)	(76)	95%	(4)
(Chinese)	(80)	(36)	45%	(44)
Malays	80	68	85%	12
Chinese	80	43	54%	37
Total	320	223	69.7%	97

Although initially the intention was to pose the questionnaire to both head of household and spouse (if married) considering that both may have different social interaction patterns at home and workplace, the constraints on the resources stated in the previous page means that a choice between covering more respondents in more housing estates or reducing the number of housing estates but interviewing similar number of respondents had to be made. The former was chosen because this study was about whether having a mixture of ethnic and social group within a residential area gave rise to different patterns of social interaction and integration. Hence, covering more residential areas and more respondents from different areas will give a better indication of the similarities or differences in social interaction patterns and integration level between ethnic and social groups in different types of housing areas. Therefore, only the head of households were interviewed in the survey. This means that the respondents will mostly be male because in Malaysia, most of the head of households are likely to be male. However, considering that women constituted only one third of the labour force in the formal sector in the city (Statistics Department,1991), for the context of this research which looked at social interaction patterns at the residential areas and at the work place after the New Economic Policy, the study of social interaction patterns of male head of households will be the first of its kind. While it was not deliberately set out to interview only male head of households, the sampling

frame used which was housing units made it impossible to select female head of household so as to reduce the gender imbalance.

However, the lack of female respondents in the research definitely limited the study in undertanding the nature of social interaction and integration, especially at residential areas because housewives will establish closer link with the neighbourhood and its activities. There will be a greater likelihood of meeting the neighbours at the local shops, schools, and neighbourhood activities. Evidence of stronger bonding with the neighbours will probably not be in evidence amongst the male respondents especially if they work long hours and have only minimum social interaction with the neighbours. The differences in the form of social interaction between the male and the female respondents will definitely bring about different social interaction patterns at the residential areas and thus will likely influence the levels of integration. The gender differences should be considered as a future research topic in order to provide a wider understanding of the form and nature of social interaction and integration.

5.8 The Survey Process

The survey was conducted over a period of two months beginning from end of August until the second week of October 1997. It was conducted on Sundays from 9 am to about 5 pm. It was also worth mentioning that the survey was conducted over the time when the country was affected by haze and was seeing the first stages of the economic crisis. However, it was only for about one week in the middle of September that the haze was at its worse, reaching very unhealthy position on the Air Pollution Index. Since the haze had been around for about two months before that, it did not affect the survey much because the population of the city had got used to it and went about doing their business as usual. But, certain cultural considerations were taken into account, for example, it was not considered suitable to interview the respondents at lunchtime (about 1-2pm) or very late into the evenings. Four enumerators

consisting of university students were involved (3 Malays and 1 Chinese). All of them had completed their diploma and were now in their third year of studies at degree level so they had some experience of conducting surveys. However, prior to the survey, the enumerators were explained procedures which included showing identification letters and badges representing the university, to interview only the head of households, to call back again if the head of household was not in for up to two times (excluding the first visit), to ensure that all information are recorded immediately and that the respondents filled in all the questionnaires completely and the completed form is put in an envelope and sealed. The questionnaire was not translated but the Chinese enumerator was informed to translate the questions as he posed it. Since some questions required the respondents to fill the answers themselves (Section 3), the Chinese enumerator was required to explain the terms if asked. Considering that there is a section which require the respondents to anwer the questions themselves, this require a high level of literacy. The literacy rate for urban Malaysians is 85% (Dept. Of Statistics,1991). The self-administered section may be a problem for those with low levels of literacy. While anonymity of the respondents may be protected, the weakness of the self-administered section is that the responses given will not be exactly what was intended if the level of literacy and understanding of the respondent is low. The results of this section will be affected by the responses given especially if the respondent do not understand the meaning of the statements in the section. Therefore, the literacy factor will have an impact on the responses for the self-administered section and this will have to be considered in summarising the conclusions. However, this problem was overcome by using the simplest of the Malay language, using terms that are common and use in everyday context.

Since most of housing estates were not widely dispersed, it was quite easy to move from one housing estate to another. An average of 10 respondents were interviewed per housing estate. The respondents who did not respond consisted of those who refused to co-operate (65%), did not fulfil the criteria (from another ethnic group- 13%), not available for interviews (not home-

17%) and vacant houses (probably in between tenancy- 5%). About 80% of those who refuse to cooperate are Chinese. Considering that there was only one Chinese enumerator, about 18% of the Chinese households were interviewed by Malay enumerators. There is a possibility that the ethnic factor may be a reason for the high percentage in the refusal to cooperate by the Chinese households. The percentage may be less had there been more Chinese enumerators interviewing Chinese households. The disadvantage of using Malay interviewers to interview Chinese respondents is that there is a possibility of bias in the responses despite measures taken to ensure anonymity, especially in the third section of the questionnaire. Chinese respondents may feel obliged to give responses that show positive attitudes rather than be honest and state exactly how they feel due to the presence of an interviewer from another ethnic group.

5.9 Pilot Study

Before the actual survey, a pilot study was conducted with 10 respondents (all Malays) who consisted of neighbours and friends known to the researcher to gauge the length of time required to complete the questionnaire, the use of the language and the overall format of the questionnaire.It was discovered that it would take about 40 minutes to an hour per person to complete the questionnaire. The use of neighbours and friends familiar to the researcher had the advantage of them being open in informing the researcher of the weakness of the instrument in terms of the language used, the context of the questions and the possibility that some of the question will not be answered. Hence, some changes to the structure of the questions were made without changing the content, for example, some questions were changed from a rating format to a Guttman scale statement, some question were considered irrelevant, for example, the number of employees (if self employed) and was discarded. The general impression gathered from the pilot study was that questions on relationship between ethnic groups is still considered 'sensitive' and some of the respondents admitted feeling uncomfortable about answering some of the questions.

5.10 Conclusion

The survey was conducted at a time when it can be considered that the topic was a "source of potential conflict" considering that there was the environmental as well as the economic crisis faced by the country. The relationship between ethnic groups has always been considered 'volatile' and there were many times especially in the mid- 1980's when the issue of language and the appointment of non- Chinese trained teachers as headmasters in Chinese schools caused the Chinese community to be upset with the government. To what extent does the current crisis faced by the country have an effect on the issue of ethnic relations being investigated? Although it may not have a great impact on the relationship between ethnic groups considering that the country had been experiencing stable economic growth for more than five years before and the benefits of the economic wealth had been shared by all, the current situation may have a bearing on the responses given by the respondents. Despite these issues, there was not much public outrage over the government's handling of the economic and environmental issues being publicised in the local media. This may be because Malaysians are generally taciturn or that the govenment's control over the media means that news of public outrages was not published. Apart from a peaceful demonstration or two by environmental non-governmental organisations, the economic and environment crisis did not seem to dampen the spirit of Malaysians on the surface. However, this does not mean that the latent feelings of anger and disappointment were not there.

In the past, it had been very difficult to gauge the inter-ethnic feelings in Malaysia because there was always a promotion of the "feel good" factor supported by the strong economic growth which despite favouring one group, had been been felt by others, too. The survey was undertaken at an earlier stage of the crisis, when the real impact of the crisis had not sunk in yet. Timing is crucial in racial sensitivity topics because different situational contexts can affect racial relationships since human feelings are not static. It changes over time and can be affected by many extrinsic and intrinsic factors. This study hopes to scratch a little tip of the iceberg in providing an

understanding of the relationship between the different racial groups in Malaysia, although there were many limitations to the study.

The next chapter will discuss the rationale of ethnic and housing mix policy as understood and implemented by the local authorities. What was the aim of the housing and ethnic mix policy and was social integration ever the official or hidden agenda?

CHAPTER 6

RATIONALE FOR HOUSING MIX

Key Points

The key point in this chapter is the rationale for the policy on ethnic mix by local authorities especially the City Hall of Kuala Lumpur. The information was gathered by interviews with various officers involved in the formulation and implementation of structure plan policies. While there is a policy of ethnic and social mix, it was not clear how the objectives are achieved in the process of implementation. Differences of opinion between some government agencies and private developers about the rationale for social and ethnic mix indicated that there was no clear agreement about the strategy.

6.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to give a brief overview of the data gathered through personal interviews with officers of various local authorities who were involved at some stage in the process of plan formulation for the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan and the Structure Plan for the districts of Petaling and Klang. The reason including other local authorities apart from the City Hall of Kuala Lumpur was to get as much understanding about the concept of housing mix and the rationale for the Bumiputera housing quota from the perspective of local authorities. For this reason, the interviews were extended beyond the study area boundary.

The chapter describes the process of structure plan formulation for Kuala Lumpur which was prepared under the Federal Territory (Planning) Act 1982 and for the District of Petaling which was prepared under Town and Country Planning Act 1976. Although similar in process, their content is different, because of the different administrative frameworks of the local authorities. Where the Federal Territory is concerned, general admistration is under the Federal Territory division of the Prime Minister's Department (formerly there was a Ministry of Federal Territory) although the day to day administration is handled by the Kuala Lumpur City Hall headed by a Commissioner (Datuk Bandar) who is appointed by the government. The structure plans for the district of Petaling and Klang were prepared by the local authorities of Petaling Jaya, Shah Alam, Petaling (now Subang Jaya) and Klang. All these local authorities are in the State of Selangor.

The chapter also provides a brief overview of the background for the formulation of the mixed residential policies, looking into whether ethnic and class integration was ever an objective of the policies, to what extent these were implemented (if there was a policy) and what were their outcomes.

6.1 The Development Plan Process

All the local authorities in the study area (see Appendix D) have prepared a structure plan as guidance for planning decisions. Kuala Lumpur was the first local authority to prepare its plan although it was prepared under the Kuala Lumpur (Planning) Act 1973. The latest structure plan prepared for the study area was the Structure Plan for the District of Petaling and part of Klang. This was appproved and gazetted by the State in 1994. One structure plan was prepared for the other four local authorities that is Petaling Jaya, Shah Alam, Petaling (Subang Jaya) and a small part of the District of Klang. The structure plan for the Klang Municipal Council was approved in 1986.

6.2 The Preparation of the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan

City planning in Kuala Lumpur began in 1931 with the preparation of the first town plan which became the basis of guiding the development of the city for an area of 20 sq. miles (Sendut,1972). In 1950 the boundary of the city was extended to 36 sq. miles (94 sq. km.) and with the adoption of the Town Board Enactment 1950, a set of plans were prepared to guide the planning of the city. The plans were basically land-based and it showed the central planning area (the city centre), the zoning for density and the landuse of the areas within the city. It was named the Comprehensive Development Plan No. 1039 (Central Planning Area), Comprehensive Development Plan No. 1040 (Density Zoning) and Comprehensive Development Plan No. 1041 (Landuse Zoning). This set of plans were used as the basis for planning approval until the adoption of the structure plan.

The initial preparation of the Kuala Lumpur structure plan was produced under the Kuala Lumpur (Planning) Act 1973 (Act 107) which covered an area of only 94 sq. km. in 1978. The area was later extended to 243 km. sq. in 1982 and the city was renamed the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur. A new Act (the Federal Territory (Planning) Act 1982 Act 267) was later passed by the Parliament and superseded the previous Act.The preparation of the structure plan was later continued under Act 267.

The delay in the preparation of the structure plan for Kuala Lumpur was partly because of changes in the administrative boundary, which required additional information to be collected. However, delays were also because of the massive amount of primary data that was collected as well as the involvement of many consultants undertaking various sectors of the study. Being the first plan that was prepared in a form that was not landuse based, I suppose the term 'survey' (as required by the Act) was interpreted as requiring every single data to be collected and every possible sectors to be looked into. Although there had been similar form of non- landuse plans prepared earlier like the Penang

Regional Master Plan (Bruton,1982), it seemed as if the City Hall of Kuala Lumpur was eager to ensure that the structure plan was 'comprehensive' and every sector in the draft structure plan report had on the average 3 consultant reports to back up the formulation of the policies.

The preparation of the structure plan for Kuala Lumpur differed slightly from the structure plan prepared under the Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (Act 172) because the administrative machinery is different. There was no requirement to publicly exhibit the Report of Survey for Kuala Lumpur, hence, the report of survey was considered 'private and confidential' where as the Reports of Survey for the other local authorities were exhibited for at least a month to the public. The draft structure plan for Kuala Lumpur was exhibited in 1982 and drew 178 comments from members of the public (individuals and organisations). One of the major comments received by the Public Hearing Committee (consisting of members from the public who were appointed by the Ministry of Federal Territory) was on the decentralisation of development to 4 new growth centres. This strategy was objected to on the basis that it will involve high infrastructural cost (objections made by housing developers), because these new growth centres will be developed on existing rubber estates and there was also a fear that the new centres will increase racial polarisation (MCA and Democratic Action Party (DAP) - Chinese Political Parties) and because they will increase the concentration of Bumiputera in the new centres, through opportunities created by the New Economic Policy (Minutes of Public Hearing Committee Meeting, 1982). However, the selected strategy of decentralising growth was retained in the structure plan because it was aimed at reducing development pressure at the city centre and also because the areas selected were not yet developed, as compared to other areas which were already developed. Besides, the decentralisation strategy was in line with the strategy of creating new growth centres as stated in the Fourth Malaysia Plan (1981-1985).

The areas that were already developed were areas currently occupied by the Chinese (city centre). The selected growth centres were to be located at the fringe of the Federal Territory (the extended area) mostly surrounded by Malay settlement areas. Except for one centre (Damansara) which was developed as a middle and upper class area (because it was already surrounded by existing middle and upper class residential areas), the other growth centres (Wangsa Maju, Bandar Tun Razak and Bukit Jalil) were developed as low and middle class areas.

Comments were also received from seven private developers regarding the allocation of 30-50% houses for low cost (Policy HO5). The developers objected to the allocation policy because it will affect the total cost of development. Among the comments received were " low cost housing is the responsibility of the government', and "the local authority will have to think about who will bear the cost of developing low cost housing". However, since it was a 'blanket policy' from the New Economic Policy and applicable to all sectors by all States, that policy has been retained. A comment was received with regard to promoting racial unity from the Chinese Assembly Hall which requested that new development centres do not become monoethnic areas. This comment was accepted by the Committee, but the policy statement which read " the authority shall **ensure** that there is a balanced and ethnix mix in the residential areas (Policy CS4)" was later changed to " the authority shall **encourage**......" in the structure plan because the Minister decided that it was difficult to ensure a balanced and ethnic mix.

According to the Public Hearing Committee Report, while the Ministry was aware of the need to break down ethnic enclaves in the city, it will be very difficult to make the different ethnic groups to live near each other. Obviously, the Ministry was not prepared to formulate controls and regulations like the Singapore government. However, the Structure Plan document stated that fostering better social relationship between ethnic groups

will be achieved through the provision of common social facilities and amenities in residential areas. It was hoped that face to face contact by residents living in the areas and using the facilities will assist in establishing social relationships between ethnic groups.

On the whole, there were not many changes made to the policy statements in the structure plan report, despite comments received from the public (Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan Report,1984). Most of the comments were concerned more with detailed administrative procedures for implementation (Public Hearing Committee Report,1982). As a result of the whole structure plan process, a seminar on the implementation of structure and local plans was conducted by the Master Plan Unit after the structure plan policies were adopted (Master Plan Unit, Seminar on the Implementation of Structure Plan and Local Plans,1984). The aim was to give an understanding to the planners who were to be involved in implementing the plan on what was expected from the policies. It has been more than 10 years since the plan was approved but a total review of the plan has yet to be done.

6.3 The Preparation of Structure Plan for Petaling District and part of Klang

The preparation of the Structure Plan for the Petaling District and part of Klang (SPPDK) covered an area of 600 sq. km, involving 4 local authorities. A structure plan for a major part of the Klang Municipal Council was prepared earlier and the SPPDK only covers about 0.4 sq.km of the Klang Municipal Council. This small part was not covered in the earlier structure plan for Klang because it did not fall into the administrative boundary of the municipal council then. Basically, there are no major differences between the policies in both of the structure plans prepared. The Klang structure plan was prepared during what was considered 'the first phase' of structure plan

formulation, that is one structure plan was prepared for one local authorithy. The SPPDK was considered the 'second phase' that is one structure plan was prepared to cover several municipalities. This was done to reduce the costs and manpower involved in preparation. Hence, for the the District of Petaling Structure Plan, all the municipalities in that District will be using the same policies in the process of implementation.

The process of the structure plan formulation took about 6 years to complete and gazette. It was initiated in 1988 and was gazetted by the State Government in 1994. There were two stages of public exhibition as opposed to one in the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan because it was required by the Town and Country Planning Act 1976 to have two stages of public exhibition - the first stage during the Report of Survey which was exhibited for a month in 1989 and the second stage, which is the Draft Structure Plan Report which was exhibited for a month in 1994.

The response from the public was not very good with only about 2000 visitors and 24 responses received from individuals and organisations although the plan was exhibited at all the municipalities. The comments were mostly received from non-governmental organisations, concerned with the impact of development on the environment. There were no comments received from developers, since the housing policies were similar to those in other structure plans. I find this rather strange considering that the SPPDK structure plan was prepared for an urban area and ignorance about planning matters was always blamed for the lack of public participation in Malaysia (Goh, 1991), but the study area can be considered an area of high literacy. Hence, Goh (1991) is right in suggesting that the public is aware that participation in such matters for them is merely informing them of what the government's policies are rather than involving them in actual policy making and are weary of attending such events when even if they make comments, it may not have any impact on changing the policies.

Before the adoption of structure plan, planning control in all the municipalities were based on some form of landuse plans or master plans. For example, Shah Alam Master Plan was prepared by a consultant, in the process of Shah Alam becoming the Selangor State Capital in 1984 and Petaling Jaya has a Master Plan (which was more like a landuse zoning plan) which was prepared under the Town Board Enactment 1950. Unlike Kuala Lumpur, which had three kinds of plans (landuse zoning, density zoning and central planning area), these municipalities relied on the landuse zoning plan to control development until 1994. The Klang Municipal Council, however, has used structure plan policies in guiding development since 1986. However, no total review of the policy has yet to be done, although some non-statutory local plans have been prepared for Klang. For the other municipalities, the process of local plan preparation was just beginning.

Although the structure plan was prepared for the municipalities which have their own administrative structures headed by the President (Yang di Pertua) of the municipality, in matters relating to major development of land, the approving body is the State Executive Council, headed by the Chief Minister (Menteri Besar). Prior to the approval of detailed layout plan by the local authorities, the permission for conversion of landuse must be obtained since land is a state matter. This is because any development which takes place in any municipality within the State first have to go through the process of conversion of landuse (eg. if land is agriculture, to be converted to building) at the State Land Office. During this process, a concept plan showing the general distribution of landuse, the phasing of development and major infrastructural development that will be taking place in the proposed site will also be submitted to the Land Office to get the approval. The Land Office will then submit the concept plan to the State Planning Department or the technical committee of the local planning authority (if the local authority has a fully set-up planning department with qualified personnel) for technical

recommmendations before the plan is approved in principle. Once the conversion of the land is approved by the State Exco (with conditions attached like the low cost quota for housing or industry), the developer will then proceed to prepare the detailed layout plan, showing all the developments to be submitted to the relevant departments of the local authority for planning permission. This detailed layout plan will then be approved by the Municipal Council, whose members are the President and appointed councillors who are supposed to represent the general public. However, the present system of appointment seems to favour members of the ruling government (Hussain, 1991). This seems to suggest that it does not matter when a structure plan is prepared by the local authorities since the policies for development are likely to remain similar for the whole State since matters for land development will be approved by the State Exco.

In 1978, it was gazetted in the Selangor State Gazette that the State adopted only parts 1,2 and 3 of the Town and Country Planning Act which by law means that the Sections which are applicable to the State are only with regard to Preliminary, Policy and Administration and Development Plans. The other parts were not adopted, hence, there is no provision for the local authories to set up appeal boards, to undertake planning control, and to collect development charges, amongst others. However, the local authorities in the study area had a requirement that the preparation of plan must be done by a qualified person (amendment to the Town and Country Planning Act 1976) which was under subsection 21c Part 4. In an interview with an officer from the State Planning Department, I was informed that the State has adopted all parts in 1996 but I could not obtain verification of this from the State Gazette. If this was not the case, then, the State is adopting the Act in parts according to their convenience, but not committed to adopting the whole Act.

The structure plan for Petaling District and Klang were prepared with 15 sectoral studies and the involvement of 5 consultants and the core team was

from the Central Town and Country Planning Department. The sectors which were included in the study were suggested in the Schedule of the Town and Country Planning (Structure and Local Plans) Rules 1984 which, amongst others, include a section on Bumiputera Participation which was not in evident in the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan. The rest of the sectors covered aspects on socioeconomic, transport, community facilities and administrative structure which is similar to the KL Structure Plan.

6.4 The Background and Implementation of the Residential and Ethnic Mix Policy

After all the time, money and manpower involved in the process of preparing the structure plans (for Kuala Lumpur as well as the rest of the area), to what extent were the policies implemented, specifically, in the implementation of the policy on residential and ethnic mix?

The policy of balanced and ethnic mix was only in evident as a policy in the structure plan of Kuala Lumpur, but not n any other structure plans prepared for Selangor. Why was that? The formulation of the policy of ethnic mix in Kuala Lumpur was the result of two of five studies by consultants as part of the technical reports for the Community Facilities and Utilities Sector of the Draft Structure Plan. According to an officer at the Master Plan Unit, the policy was made at a time when *"the share of the cake was small"** implying that the percentage of Bumiputera/ Malays in the city was very low. The two reports were the Social Planning Report for the KL Master Plan (1980) and Ethnic Polarization and its Measures (1980) which provided a detailed analysis of the ethnic distribution of population in Kuala Lumpur.

The reports highlighted what was already a known phenomenon, that is, that Kuala Lumpur was highly polarized and that residential segregation was

apparent. Also, earlier studies by sociologists highlighted the issue of racial polarisation as detrimental to the social relationship between the different communities and this view was also supported by a planner from City Hall.

According to him* .

"we have long known that Kuala Lumpur is a 'Chinese' city. But, NEP has provided opportunities for Malays in the city. So, we must be prepared to cater for their arrival. The new growth centres in the Structure Plan were supposed to be areas that provide business opprtunities for the new arrivals. Still, we got to think about the Malays and Chinese and other races living together in the city. Totally Chinese areas or Malay areas are not good. We don't want to have Chinese areas that breeds communism like before and we don't want Malay kampungs like Kampung Baru or Kampung Dato Keramat. It's not good for the image of the city. The growth centres will be modern areas, based on the neighbourhood principles. We want Malays, and other races to live together in harmony. That's why we provide affordable housing."

The view that ethnic segregation is also detrimental to fostering social relationship between ethnic groups was also supported by an officer at the Department of National Unity** who stated that,

"the Government view the relationship between ethnic groups in Malaysia as important to ensure political stability. That's why the Department has programmes like Annual Sports Day, Neighbourhood Watch, Neighbourhood Campaign on TV and other mass media. We want the public to get the message that unity is important for the country. About living in the same residential areas(the different ethnic groups).........that's good. We would rather have a multiracial Neighbourhood Watch, for example, although if it's a Malay area, then what can you expect? But Malays, Chinese and Indian must learn to live with each other Otherwise, how are you going to know about each other's culture?".

Both statements seem to support the view that social contact in residential areas is important to encourage social relationship between ethnic groups. Residential areas are seen as the first place to establish social contacts. Similarly, the developers interviewed also supported the idea of ethnic mixing in residential areas, but emphasised that who the buyers want their neighbours

to be, as a matter of choice. According to them, most of the buyers would ask about the ethnic groups of the buyers next to the property they were interested in or within their neighbourhood areas, before making a decision to buy.

On residential mix, the rationale behind the policy was to ensure that all residential developments cater for all income groups. However, what was not clearly outlined was the scale of development. A large residential area of, maybe 20-100 hectares, can still be considered 'mixed" even if one phase of the development consists of only one type of development and another phase consists of another type, but overall, there will be a mix. In the case of Kuala Lumpur, depending on the scale, large residential developments of 10 hectare or more are encouraged to be built based on the neighbourhood concepts, where each phase of development supporting a population of between 5,000-10,000 people should contain a mixture of residential types and provides centralised community facilities.

The idea of neighbourhood units as areas where mixing between social classes can take place was the central theme of residential developments in the city from 1980's onwards (Osman,1989). However, this is just a guideline. Depending on the locality and size of the area, for example, in high income residential areas, some developers can submit an application to build only one type of housing, like high class condominium.

On the quota for Bumiputera in residential housing, the planners interviewed agreed that it is necessary to ensure that Bumiputeras have the same opportunity as other races in terms of houseownership. The quota for Bumiputera in low cost housing will ensure the representation of all ethnic groups. This will also be the case for other types of housing.

The structure plan report has a sector on Bumiputera participation which provides a background about the issues regarding Bumiputera ownership in sectors like housing, commercial and industrial establishments among others. The policy on housing for Bumiputera was the standard policy which stated that so as to ensure the increase of Bumiputera home ownership in the area, the 30% quota for Bumiputera/Malays by private developers and 45% by State developers as well as a discounted price for Bumiputera will be enforced (Structure Plan for Petaling District and parts of Klang, 1994)

The basis of this policy was to ensure that Bumiputera ownership in the market increases. However, there is no guarantee that the Malays who buy the properties under the Bumiputera quota do not subsequently dispose of the properties to non -Malay buyers later because there are no conditions attached to freehold or leasehold land, unless the property was in the Malay Reserved Land. In terms of ethnic mixing, only in low cost housing schemes can a balance be achieved and this was because the selection is done on a balloting basis. The housing units will be allocated to those earning below RM750.00, irrespective of race by the local government or the state and not open to the free market.

Although there was no mixed residential type policy explicitly in the structure plan for the State of Selangor, developers are requested to build a mixture of residential types as a condition of development approval during the stage of land conversion. A general guideline of a housing mix consisting of 50% low cost, 30 % medium cost and 20% medium low cost was suggested (General Guidelines for Low Cost Housing Programmes in Selangor, 1988), but this condition was subject the approval of the State Planning Committee. The aim of this housing mix was to cross-subsidise the development of low cost housing, especially by the private developers. To what extent is the policy implemented? What is interesting about Selangor is that the Chief Minister made a statement in a local daily paper with the headline 'Building cheap

homes in prime areas' (The Star, 3rd June 1996) where he talked about ensuring that the low cost houses is built at the earlier phase because 'with mixed developments there would be better interaction among people' and that the developers 'should stop the habit of dividing the society' and disagreeing with the developers' notion that 'the poor cannot mix with the rich'. It also stated that developers of future housing projects will be ordered to maintain a balance of all three categories of homes in all phases. Apart from social interaction, reducing traffic congestion was also mentioned as the reason for wanting a mix. Subang Jaya was quoted as a case of development of middle and upper income residential areas, where traffic congestion is a major problem (The Sun, 11th June 1996). This has yet to become a condition, but if it does, it will become a big issue for developers.

Currently, the developers are allowed to build the low cost units on other sites if the site on which they are currently developing was not suitable for low cost housing (for example hilly areas or the surrounding areas are currently high income areas like Bukit Kenny in Kuala Lumpur, or if the site was too small). Because development approval in principle can be obtained during the concept plan stage, the developers can phase out the development of the low income residential areas towards the end of their phase and sometimes get away without even building the low cost parts.

A case where a developer got an exemption from building 30 % low cost housing at a 400 hectare Bandar Utama township in the Federal Territory has caused concerns in certain quarters that this might set a precedent for future developments (Battling problem of inadequate housing for poor, New Straits Times, 7th April 1996).

When asked about the impact of residential mixing of all types of residential development in the same phase, the developer's opinion was that

"it will simply not work because integration is not by putting the different people together. It would be better to respect the segregation so that people can live harmoniously with each other".***

This idea was supported by all developers interviewed who considered mixing all types of housing units in one locality as reducing the value of the property. However, they were not concerned about the ethnicity of the residents, only the income group, ie social class mixing.

Some would interpret this view as simply being selfish on the part of the developer because an area with low income housing will not be very favourable among high income people. However, some planners were in agreement with the developers' view. One said

"if you still want to enforce high cost and low cost together in one area without considering the location and types of development, who will want to buy?" ****

As it is now, one of the problems that the developers faced with the quota for Bumiputera is unsold units especially

"at the upper market and Chinese areas.".*****

Hence, the Housing Developers' Association made a proposal to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to allow them to release unsold Bumiputera lots automatically after a standard time frame of 6 months and three advertisements in local newspapers in Bahasa Malaysia or any newspaper nominated by the Ministry (Property Malaysia, Oct-Nov.1995).

6.5 Conclusion

It would not be fair to say that there was never any intention by the local authorities, in either Kuala Lumpur or Selangor State to tackle the issue of ethnic segregation. Kuala Lumpur City Hall having been made aware that the city was highly polarised made a move to include an explicit policy for integrating the ethnic groups. The policy of a mixture of residential types was mostly aimed at providing adequate and affordable housing for its residents but the allocation of units for Bumiputera/ Malays will indirectly ensure a distribution of ethnic groups in its residential areas.

But the City Hall went one step further than the local authorities in Selangor by having an explicit policy on ethnic mix. Although they admit it will be difficult to implement even after the policy statement was changed from 'ensure' to 'encourage', the local authority at the time of the structure plan preparation did succumb to the pressure from sociologists. Although currently there are no working policies of housing allocation for the middle and high income group to ensure a balanced and ethnic mix, the provision of Bumiputera allocation and a discounted price for Bumiputera/Malays was to ensure the representation of Bumiputera/Malays in private sector housing. Although there was an underlying intention that the mix areas will foster better social relationships between its residents, this was to be achieved through the design of communal areas, like the community hall and schools. Since no specific strategy or target was set to see to what extent the creation of communal services will increase social interaction pattern, this seemed to be the case of 'the infrastructure is there, so let the interaction nature takes its course.'

POSTSCRIPT

In the context of overall political power, it would be better for the different communities to be segregated to ensure the achievement of a majority in political elections in Kuala Lumpur.This was because a study by Agus(1991) on the concentration of Malays and Chinese in parliamentary boundaries in Kuala Lumpur found no evidence of a change in the distribution of population by parliamentary constituents from 1980 to 1990.

The Chinese were heavily concentrated in existing Chinese political strong hold (some of them were parlimentary seats of the Opposition candidates - DAP) and the Malays in existing Malay settlements. Considering that the political parties in Malaysia are very much ethnic based parties, a balanced ethnic mix might be a disadvantage because it will dilute the majority votes in some areas especially since the urban Chinese are well known to support the opposition.

In the context of Selangor, there was no explicit policy in the structure plans nor in any of the State policies to achieve a balanced ethnic mix of the population. This was because although towns like Petaling Jaya has a higher proportion of Chinese than Malays but this is balanced in Shah Alam where there was a higher proportion of Malays. The issue of racial polarisation was not considered to be important in Selangor because in the context of political seats, the whole state has about 60% rural hinterland with a majority Malay population.

Ethnic residential segregation (though there may be intra-class integration) may be seen as 'necessary' in the Federal Territory to ensure political majority, and Selangor State is in the process of trying to encourage mix residential type to encourage class integration. Selangor does not consider ethnic integration an issue to be pursued because overall the proportion of the

Malays in the State is higher than the Chinese. There was less pressure to ensure Alliance Party's political domination although there were state constituencies won by the opposition in the last election (3 out of 48 seats). Besides, all the parliamentary seats in Selangor was won by members from the ruling party which means there is least likely to be many conflicts in terms of major political decisions.

* Interview with Planning Officer, Kuala Lumpur City Hall (1997)

** Interview with Project Officer, Dept. Of National Unity

*** Interview with Development Manager, Sunrise Berhad (1997)

**** Interview with Planning Officer, Selangor Town and Country Planning Department. (1997)

***** Interview with Head, Architecture Dept. Lions Properties. (1997)

CHAPTER 7

SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE
RESPONDENTS

Key Points

This chapter describes some of the results of the social survey. The first section provides an overview of the background of the respondents and the next section describes the socieconomic background of the respondents on the three types of residential areas. It was found that the sample selected was from a group that was young and educated, mostly those involved in the tertiary sector of the economy. The socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents for the mixed and Malay monoethnic areas were almost similar to the population, but the characteristics of the respondents from the Chinese monoethnic areas differed from the population. This was because there were more respondents who were single and in the younger age group in Chinese monoethnic areas compared to mixed and Malay monoethnic areas.

7.0 Overview of the Socioeconomic Background of the Respondents

A total of 223 respondents were interviewed from the three types of residential areas. The breakdown of respondents is shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Breakdown of number of respondents

Residential Areas	No.	%
Mixed:	112	50.2
(Malays)	(78)	(34.9)
(Chinese)	(34)	(15.3)
Monoethnic Malays	68	30.5
Monoethnic Chinese	43	19.3
Cases	223	100

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Social Background

89% of the respondents interviewed were male. This was because the male is normally the head of household in Malaysia. According to the Statistic Department (1991), 80% of the head of households in Kuala Lumpur were male in 1991. In terms of age group, more than 53% of them were within 26-35 years of age. The median age for Kuala Lumpur's population in 1991 was 25.1. This indicates that Kuala Lumpur was a city with a fairly young population. Hence, the sample was similar in terms of age to the population as a whole. The average age of men marrying was 28.1 and for females it was 25.2. All the respondents were still in the active working age group (below 55 years) and there were no retirees.

66 % of the respondents were married, 30% single and 4% divorced or widowed. In terms of the city's population, 61% were married. The average household size was 4.3 which was slightly smaller to the city's that was 4.5. 53% of the respondents owned their house which was similar to the city's population (52%) and more than 60% of them lived in single storey type of houses. 92% of the respondents lived in households with less than 5 persons

compared to 70% of the city's population. All the respondents lived in one household units, although a small number (3.9%) consisted of extended family types. In Malaysia, extended families were considered as one household and this formed about 83% of the city's population and single person household formed only 9% of the city's population.

Employment Status

All the respondents were employed on a full time basis. More than half of them were employed in the private sector. Table 7.2 describes their place of employment in detail. Comparison with the city's population in terms of place of employment cannot be made because no detailed data was available. However, it was expected that more Chinese than Malays were employed in the private and self employed sector sector because of the lack of opportunities for them to be employed in the government sector.

Table 7.2 Place of employment of respondents

Place of employment	Malays(%) n=146	Chinese(%) n=77
Government	40.4	26.0
Private Sector	58.2	58.4
Self-employed	1.4	15.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Chi-square:0.0000,p<0.05 ,Source: Fieldwork,1997

There were significant differences at p<0.05 between the ethnic groups and the place of employment. There were more Chinese who were self-employed than the Malays. This was hardly surprising in the city, considering that the Chinese were long known to be involved in businesses, compared with the Malays.The Malays who were self-employed were mostly in the food and catering business.

In terms of employment based on of types of residential areas (mixed, monoethnic-Malays and monoethnic Chinese), table 7.3 provides a detailed breakdown. Generally, the sectors in which there were more Chinese than Malays were administrative and managerial, sales, manufacturing, transportation and agriculture. The Malays were more involved in the professional and technical, clerical, and services sector.

A higher percentage of Chinese in mixed areas were involved in the administrative and managerial sector (11%), compared to the Chinese in the monoethnic Chinese areas (5.5%). The sector with the highest percentage of Chinese in both areas was the sales sector (24% in mixed areas and 23.2 % in monoethnic areas). Amongst the Malays, they were employed mostly in the clerical sector. Overall, the distribution of the ethnic groups in the employment sector of the city reflected, the distribution of employment in the country as a whole (refer to Table 4.4)

Table 7.3 Employment Sector of Kuala Lumpur Population by Residential Types 1991

	Mixed Areas		Mono ethnic Malay areas	Mono ethnic Chinese areas
Employment Sector	Malay n=29810	Chinese n=32492	n=99164	n=146182
	%	%	%	%
Professional/ Technical	17.5	13.8	16.0	7.7
Administra tion/Manage- rial	6.6	11.0	5.0	5.5
Clerical	24.3	16.8	29.5	14.4
Sales	7.9	24.0	8.9	23.2
Services	23.9	7.4	17.7	9.4
Manufacturing	2.3	4.6	2.3	6.7
Transportation	4.5	8.1	7.4	12.7
Labour	10.3	11.2	10.9	17.0
Agriculture	2.7	3.1	2.3	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics Department,1991

The level of educational attainment for the sample was higher than the city's population. More than 80% of the respondents had a tertiary level of education compared to 16% of the city's population. Tertiary level is defined as the level attained after completing more than 11 years of formal education. This indicated that the sample was biased in terms of level of education, because the sample falls into the category of 'educated groups' which may influence the social interaction patterns between ethnic groups. Selecting samples from residential housing built by private developers consisting of only one house type, that is, terrace housing, which only accounted for 30% of all the types of housing in the city, and not from a wider range of housing (including public

low cost housing) has reduced the probability of a wider selection of the population being sampled.

Table 7.4 Income group of respondents by ethnicity

Monthly Income RM	Malays n=146		Chinese n=77	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
below 1000	18	12.3	8	10.4
1000-2000	82	56.2	44	57.1
2001-3000	30	20.5	15	19.5
above 3000	16	11.0	10	13.0
Cases	146	100.0	77	100.0

chi-square: 0.181,$p>0.05$, Source: Fieldwork,1997

In terms of income, more than half of the respondents earned between RM 1000-2000 (56%). In terms of ethnic group, both Malay and Chinese respondents had a similar income distribution, as shown in table 7. 4. Since there was no detailed socioeconomic data about the city's population, based on different types of area (monoethnic and mixed), only limited comparisons with the city's population can be made. The differences and similarities between the sample and the city population cannot be used to make inferences about the city's population as a whole, because the sample was selected from areas that satisfied the conditions of being mixed or homogenous areas. The similarity and differences between sample and the population of the city were in these areas:

Similarities:

*Age group - both the city's population and the sample consisted of a young generation mostly between 26- 35 years of age

*Marital status - 61% of the city's population and 66% of the sample were married.

*Household size- the average household size of the city was 4.5 and the sample was 4.3,

*Homeownership pattern- 52% of the city's population owned their home compared to 53% of the sample.

*Income group- Average income of the city's population was RM 2500 compared to the sample which was ranged between RM 1000-2000.

*Employment category - overall distribution of the city's population by employment types showed not much differences in the different types of residential areas.

Differences:

*Level of educational - the sample seemed to be those highly with a higher level of education compared to the city's population

In general, the group sampled consisted mainly of those in the younger generation who had completed a tertiary level of education, in the process of establishing themselves the the career ladder, mostly employed in the sector that reflected their level of education.

The next section will describe the sample in greater detail by looking at the similarities and differences in terms of the socioeconomic background of the respondents based on different the residential areas.

7.1 Mixed Areas

A total of 112 respondents were interviewed in the mixed areas. The breakdown of the ethnicity of the respondents from the mixed areas is as follows.

Table 7.5 Mixed areas -Ethnicity of respondents

Ethnicity	Freq	Percentage (%)
Malays	78	69.6
Chinese	34	30.4
Total	112	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

7.1.1 Social Background

96 % of the respondents interviewed were male. About 80% of them were married and in terms of ethnicity, there were 20.5 % single Malay respondents and 17.6% single Chinese respondents. Table 7.6 provides the details of gender by marital status.

Table 7.6 Mixed areas - Gender by marital status

	Male n=108	Female n=4
single	16.7	100.0
married	83.3	-
	100.0	100.0

chi-square:0.0000,p<0.5, Source: Fieldwork,1997

All the respondents were working full time and more than half of them were within the age group of 26- 35 years. Table 7.7 provides the breakdown of the age of respondents in mixed areas. There is no significant difference between the age groups of the Malays and the Chinese. In terms of household size, the average size was 4.3 which was slightly less than the average household size of the city (4.5). More than 70% lived in a household with less than 5 persons and all of them lived in one household unit.

Table 7.7 Mixed Areas - Age of respondents

Age group	Malays		Chinese	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
21-25	4	5.1	-	-
26-30	29	37.2	12	35.3
31-35	22	28.2	13	38.2
36-40	17	21.8	4	11.8
41-45	6	7.7	5	14.7
Cases	78	100.0	34	100.0

chi-square:0.288,p>0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

59% of the respondents in the mixed areas were home owners while 41% were renters. This pattern reflected the home ownership pattern for the city where 52% of the city population were homeowners compared to 40% renters. Comparing between the ethnic groups in terms of homeownership, it was discovered that a higher percentage of the Chinese respondents were homeowners compared to the Malays. (However, the homeownership pattern of the Malays has improved since 1980 because the percentage of Malay homeowners then was only 16% compared to 70% Chinese).

Table 7.8 Mixed areas - Homeownership patterns based on ethnicity

Tenure	Malays		Chinese	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Own	40	51.3	26	76.5
Rent	38	48.7	8	23.5
Cases	78	100.0	34	100.0

chi-square:0.0127,p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

About 50% of the respondents have lived in their house for more than a year and the number of years of residence was between 1-4 years. On further analysis, it was discovered that one third of the Malay respondents had moved from another state, compared with only 6% of the Chinese. The rest of the respondents moved into their current housing estates from another residential areas in the city. In both groups, a high percentage cited buying a house as a reason for moving into their current homes (68% for the Chinese and 47% for the Malays). Table 7.9 shows the patterns of previous place of residence.

Table 7.9 Mixed areas- Previous place of residence

Previous place of residence	Malays		Chinese	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
same residential area	2	2.6	2	5.9
another area in the city	50	64.1	30	88.2
another state	26	33.3	2	5.9
Total	78	100.0	34	100.0

chi-square:0.0075,p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

51.8% of the residents lived in double storey houses, because most of the houses built in these newly developed residential areas consisted mostly of single and double storey medium cost houses (between 40-60% of the total development). Table 7.10 describes the type of housing by ethnicity. Most of the Chinese were living in double storey type of housing.

Table 7.10 Mixed Areas - Type of housing by ethnicity

Ethnic	Malays		Chinese	
House type	Freq.	Percentage	Freq.	Percentage
Single storey	44	56.4	10	29.4
Double storey	34	43.6	24	70.6
Cases	78	100.0	34	100.0

chi-square:0.0085,p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

7.1.2 Economic Status

In terms of the level of education, more than 90% of the respondents had tertiary education, that is they had more than 11 years of full time education. More than 50% of them had a first degree or higher. This seems to be a very big contrast, compared with the population of the city as a whole, where only about 16% of the city population has tertiary education. This implies that the respondents residing in these mixed areas consisted mainly middle income, highly educated residents.

Looking at the level of education by ethnicity, more than 80% of the Chinese had at least a first degree. On the whole, the percentage of Malays and Chinese enrolled in higher education was similar (43%) in 1983 (Mid -term Review,Fifth Malaysia Plan,1987) but it was most likely that Chinese will tend to reside in the cities than Malays because of the wider opportunities of employment in private sectors.

Table 7.11 Mixed Areas - Level of education by ethnicity

	Malays		Chinese	
Level	Freq.	Percentage	Freq.	Percentage
Secondary	3	3.8	-	-
Diploma	39	50.0	6	17.6
Degree	36	46.2	28	82.4
Cases	78	100.0	34	100.0

chi-square:0.0015,p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

Half of respondents were employed in the private sector. The breakdown of place of employment is shown in the table 7.12. Place of employment was categorised as government sector (including those working in state corporations), private sector and self employed. The respondents were also asked to state their nature of employment as well as place of employment.

Table 7.12 Mixed areas -Place of employment by ethnicity

	Malay		Chinese	
Place	Freq	%	Freq	%
Government	35	44.9	16	47.1
Private	43	55.1	16	47.1
Self-employed	-	-	2	5.8
Cases	78	100.0	34	100.0

chi-square:0.0860,p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

Table 7.13 gives a detailed breakdown of the types of employment in mixed areas. There is a higher rate of Malays involvement in the professional and technical (33.3%) spheres as well the administration and managerial sectors (28.2%) in these areas compared with the total population of Malays in mixed areas (see Table 7.3). For the Chinese, there was also a high percentage employed in the professional and technical (52.9%). compared to the Chinese population in the mixed areas (13.8%- see table 7.3). However, the other sectors did not seemed to differ greatly from the rest of the Chinese population in the mixed areas. Some of the employment categories were also not obtained due to the small size of the sample.

Table 7.13 Mixed Areas-Types of employment by ethnicity

	Malays n=78		Chinese n=34	
Type	No.	%	No.	%
Professional/ Technical	26	33.3	18	52.9
Administrative/Managerial	22	28.2	6	17.6
Clerical	18	23.1	4	11.8
Services	5	6.4	4	11.8
Manufacturing	7	9.0	2	5.9
Total	78	100.0	34	100.0

chi-square:0.1960,p>0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

This higher percentage of the respondents involved in the professional and administrative sector was supported by the fact that more than half of them had a degree or higher. The income of the respondents was between RM 1500-2500 with 51.2% of the Malays earning between RM 1500 and RM 2500 and 32.3% of the Chinese in the same income group.The average income of the

city population was RM 2500. However, there was a higher percentage of Chinese earning more than RM 2500 (55.9%) than Malays (18%) as indicated in table 7.14.

Table 7.14 Mixed areas - Income by ethnicity

Income	Malays		Chinese	
RM	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
< 1000	4	5.1	2	5.9
1000-1500	20	25.6	2	5.9
1501-2000	26	33.3	5	14.7
2001-2500	14	17.9	6	17.6
2501-3000	2	2.6	9	26.5
> 3000	12	15.4	10	29.4
cases	78	100.0	34	100.0

chi-square:0.0002,$p<0.05$, Source: Fieldwork,1997

More than 70% of the Malays had a Malay as their head of department compared with 37% of the Chinese as shown in table 7.15. Since a high percentage of Malays were involved in the private sector, this indicated that they were employed in an organisation owned or run by Malays or in partnership between Malays and Chinese. Since the creation of Bumiputra Business and Commercial Community as part of the frame work of the New Economic Policy, many Bumiputra entrepreneurs have joint ventures with Chinese business communities (see chapter 2).

Table 7.15 Mixed areas - Ethnicity of head of Department

Ethnicity of head of department	Malays (%) n=78	Chinese (%) n=34
Malay	73.1	37.5
Chinese	23.1	40.6
Indian	2.6	9.4
Foreign	1.2	12.5
Total	100.0	100.0

chi-square:0.0013,p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

In terms of socialising patterns between Malays and Chinese at work, tables 7.16 and 7.17 provide a detailed breakdown. In terms of Malays socialising with the Chinese, 24% of them worked in an organisation which had more than 50% Chinese. This was also supported by the data from table 7.15, showing that 23% of them had a Chinese as their head of department.

Table 7.16 Mixed areas- Malay Respondents and Proportion of Chinese employees

Prop.of Chinese employees	(%)
100%	-
more than 75%	2.9
bet.50-75%	20.6
bet.25-49%	38.2
less than 25%	35.3
none	2.9
Total	100.0

n=78, Source:Fieldwork,1997

In terms of Chinese-Malay social interaction patterns, about 87% of the Chinese worked in organisations which employed more than 50% Malays. Hence, there was a higher chance of Chinese-Malay social interaction compared to Malay-Chinese social interaction amongst those residing in mixed areas.

Table 7.17   Mixed areas-Chinese respondents and Proportion of Malay
employees

Prop.of Malay (%) Employees	
100%	-
more than 75%	46.9
bet.50-75%	40.6
bet.25-49%	6.3
less than 25%	6.3
none	-
Total	100.0

n=34, Source:Fieldwork,1997

On the whole, what can be summarized about the socieconomic background
of the respondents who resided in mixed areas was that they were generally
young middle income professionals, highly educated and employed in
organisations which had a high proportion of employees from both ethnic
groups. However, the Chinese were in a higher income bracket and were more
educated than the Malays. There was a higher chance of Chinese-Malay social
interactions compared with the Malay-Chinese social interactions although
only a third of the Chinese had a Malay as their head of department. Both
groups worked in multi-ethnic organisations.

7.2 Malay homogenous areas

Existing Malay settlements evolved from the traditional Malay kampungs that
were part of the city landscape for generations. The kampungs were part of the
Malay Agricultural Settlements during the colonial period and as the city
boundary was expanded it became part of the city. Many houses still
maintained the architecture of the traditional Malay house.However,
throughout the years , developments that have taken place have transformed
these urban villages and now apart from the ethnicity of the residents, they
look just like any other housing estates in the city with bricks and tiles
replacing the attaps and woods.

7.2.1 Social Background

More than 94% of the respondents interviewed were male which was typical of the situation in Malaysia, especially amongst the Malay communities, where the head of household was usually male. 67% of the respondents were married and 29% single. All of them lived in one household units. More than 40% of them had been living in their homes for more than 1 year but less than 4 years. The average length of residence was between 1-4 years, which was similar to those residing in mixed areas.

Table 7.18 Malay areas- Length of residence

Years	Freq.	Percentage(%)
less than a year	12	17.6
1-4 years	32	47.1
5-8 years	18	26.5
more than 9	6	8.8
Cases	68	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Table 7.19 Malay Areas - Previous place of residence

Residence	Freq.	%
another area in KL	50	73.5
another state	18	26.5
Cases	68	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

In both types of residential areas, Malays can be considered residents of the city because more than 70% of those in monoethnic areas moved from another residential area in the city. Similar to the mixed areas, the main reason cited for the move was to buy their own homes (44%).

More than 50% of the respondents were between 26-35 years, similar to Malays residing in mixed areas. About 85% of the respondents were below 35 years of age, and thus grew up during the implementation of the New Economic Policy. Table 7.20 provides the break down of the age groups.

Table 7.20 Malay area- Age group

Age group(yrs)	Freq.	%
21-25	14	20.6
26-30	25	36.8
31-35	19	27.9
36-40	4	5.9
41-45	6	8.8
cases	68	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

All the selected respondents were employed full time and more than half of them were home owners. They had established themselves in terms of house ownership at quite a young age. The easy access to housing loans for Bumiputera, especially for houses below RM 100,000 had probably provided an incentive for them to buy rather than rent. This was reflected in the types of houses purchased which were mainly single storey. Tables 7.21 and 7.22 describe the tenancy pattern and type of housing.

Table 7.21 Malay areas- Tenancy pattern

Tenure	Freq.	Percentage(%)
own	38	55.9
rent	30	44.1
cases	68	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Table 7.22 Malay areas- Type of housing

	Freq	Percentage(%)
single storey	55	80.9
double storey	13	19.1
cases	68	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

From both the tables, the proportion of owners did not differ greatly from the statistic of the city population. However, more than 80% of them were living in single storey houses. What this implies is that the Malay homogenous areas were more at the lower end of the middle income housing areas. The average household size was 4.2 which was smaller than the average household size in the city as a whole. More than 60% of them were living in a house with less than 5 persons.

7.2.2 Employment Status

70% of the respondents had tertiary education. About 20% of them had a first degree. Similar to the Malays in the mixed areas, the educational attainment of residents in the Malay homogenous areas was higher than those of Malays in the city population as a whole.

Table 7.23 Malay areas- Level of education

	Freq	Percentage(%)
secondary	20	29.4
diploma	34	50.0
degree	14	20.6
cases	68	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

In terms of place of employment, 61.8 % of them were employed in the private sector compared to 35% in the government sector. Only 2.9 % were self employed. The highest percentage were in the clerical sector (39.7%), followed by professional and technical sector (see table 7.24).

Table 7.24 Malay areas - Type of employment

	Freq.	Percentage
Professional/Technical	15	22.1
Admin./Managerial	10	14.7
Clerical	27	39.7
Sales	4	5.9
Services	6	8.8
Manufacturing	2	2.9
Labour	4	5.9
cases	68	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

The majority of the respondents in the Malay homogenous areas earned between RM 1000- 2000 which was lower than the average income for Malays residing in mixed areas and lower than the average for the city population as a whole. However, in general, Malays earned less than Chinese but higher than Indians in the city. About 32% of the respondents earned between RM 1000- 1500 but more than half earned between RM 1000- 2000. In general, the residents of the Malay homogenous areas can be considered as low middle income earners. This was also supported by the fact that most of them lived in single storey houses.

Table 7.25 Malay areas- Income group

Income (RM)	Freq.	Percentage(%)
below 1000	14	20.6
1001-1500	22	32.4
1501-2000	14	20.6
2001-2500	10	14.7
2501-3000	4	5.9
above 3000	4	5.9
cases	68	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

62% of the respondents had a Malay as their head of department. Only 32% had a Chinese as their head of department. 37.1% of them worked in organisations which employed more than 50% Chinese. This implies that the respondents were employed in organisations which were multi-ethnic and there was also a higher chance of Malay-Chinese social interaction for Malays residing in homogenous areas, compared with Malays residing in mixed areas. Tables 7.26 and 7.27 provide a detailed breakdown of the ethnicity of the head of department and the social interaction patterns in the work place.

Table 7.26 Malay areas - Ethnicity of head of department

	Percentage
Malay	62.1
Chinese	31.8
Indian	3.0
Foreign	3.0
cases	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Table 7.27 Malay areas - Proportion of Chinese employees

	Proportion of Chinese employees(%)
100%	-
more than 75%	11.7
bet.50-75%	25.4
bet.25-49%	45.8
less than 25%	16.9
cases	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

7.3 Chinese homogenous areas

The Chinese homogenous areas had existed for as long as the city had existed. In contrast to the mixed areas, Chinese homogenous areas consisted of older types of residential areas, many built in the sixties and early seventies. Most of them were located at the fringe of the city centre, and many parts of the area were formerly new villages, built during the sixties to curb the communist activities in the city.

7.3.1 Social Background

Like both areas discussed above, more than 60% of the respondents interviewed were male. However, 56% of them were single (and most were males) and 30% were married which was a contrast to both other areas and differed greatly from the city's population. A detailed breakdown of the respondents is shown in table 7.28.

Table 7.28 Chinese areas- Marital status

	Single%	Married%	Widowed%
Male	66.7	83.3	-
Female	33.3	16.7	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0

cases=43, Source: Fieldwork,1997

In terms of age group, about 60% of the respondents were also in a younger age group, as compared with the mixed area and homogenous Malay area. This probably accounts the higher percentage of singles compared to married respondents, considering that the average marrying age was 28 for the men and 25 for the women in the city as a whole. Table 7.29 provides the detailed breakdown of age group. The smaller percentage of married respondents compared with the Malays, may be due to the fact that Chinese especially professional women, tend to marry later in life.

Table 7.29 Chinese areas - Age group of respondents

	Freq.	%
21-25	13	30.2
26-30	17	39.5
31-35	6	14.0
41-45	2	4.7
46-50	5	11.6
cases	43	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 1997

42% of them have resided in the house for more than 1 year and the average length of residence was between 1-4 years which was similar to the other two areas (length of residence is shown in table 7.30). More Chinese than Malays have lived in the city for more than 9 years.

Table 7.30 Chinese area- Length of residence

	Freq.	Percentage(%)
less than 1 year	11	25.6
1-4 years	18	41.9
5-8 years	5	11.6
more than 9 years	9	20.9
Total	43	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Chinese had been the major residents of the city for decades. Hence, it was not likely that they were recent migrants. Table 7.31 shows the detailed breakdown of the previous place of residence. Only 28% of the respondents were migrants from another state.

Table 7.31 Chinese areas - Previous place of residence

	Fre.	%
Another residential area in KL	31	72.1
Another state	12	27.9
cases	43	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

65% of households were living in single storey terrace housing and there were more renters than home owners compared to the two housing areas above (67%). The selected sample were of a younger age group and mostly single. The average household size was 4.4 which was slightly higher than the other types of areas. 80% of them lived in a house with less than 5 person. All the respondents were in one household units. Although the head of households were single, about 84% of them shared the house with family members (brothers, sisters, cousins) and even those who shared the house with friends, claimed that they share common provisions like bills and meals (one household).

Table 7.32 Chinese areas- Tenancy

	Freq.	Percentage(%)
own	14	32.6
rent	29	67.4
cases	43	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

7.3.2 Employment Status

More than 85% of them had tertiary education and 32% of them had a first degree. This was similar to the respondents in the Malay homogenous areas, (table 7.33 describes the details).

Table 7.33 Chinese areas- Level of Education

	Freq.	Percentage(%)
secondary	6	14.0
Diploma	23	53.5
Degree	14	32.6
cases	43	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

All were employed full time, more than 67% were employed in the private sector and 23% of them were self employed (Table 7.34). There was a higher rate of self employed respondents in these areas than in the other two areas. The Chinese had a long history of entrepreneurship, compared to the other ethnic groups. They were involved in businesses like hair dressing, electrical repair shops and restaurants. Most ran their own businesses, and were likely to be employed in family owned organisations. Only 9.3% of them were working in the government sector, which was not surprising. Considering that with the affirmative action strategy, they were less likely to be employed in the government sector, even more so if their command of Bahasa Malaysia was not up to the requirement for public sector service employment.

Table 7.34 Chinese areas- Place of employment

	Freq.	Percentage(%)
government	4	9.3
private	29	67.4
self-employed	10	23.3
cases	43	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

More than half of the respondents were employed in organisations which employed more than 50% Malay employees. This implies that they worked in multiethnic organisations. 67% of them had a Chinese as their head of departments and 33% had a Malay as their head of department (see table 7.35).

Table 7.35 Chinese areas - Ethnicity of head of department

	Freq.	Percentage
Malay	11	33.3
Chinese	22	66.7
cases	33*	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997 (* 10 were self-employed)

Table 7.36 Chinese areas- Proportion of Malay employees

	Proportion of Malay employees(%)
100%	-
above 75%	8.0
bet.50-75%	44.0
bet.25-49%	12.0
none	36.0
cases	100.0

n=33, Source: Fieldwork,1997

More than 80% of the respondents earned between RM 1000 - 2000. This was similar to the respondents residing in homogenous Malay areas but less than

Malays and Chinese residing in mixed areas. Based on the level of education and the employment sector, it was not surprising that was the case. Hence, based on the income level, the respondents in these areas were also within the low middle income group.

Table 7.37 Chinese areas - income

Income RM	Freq.	Percentage(%)
below 1000	6	14.0
1001-1500	22	51.2
1501-2000	15	34.9
cases	43	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

The highest percentage of the respondents were employed in the services sector (26%), followed by clerical (23%) and administration and managerial (16%) (see table 7.38). Compared to the Chinese population in monoethnic Chinese areas, there was a difference considering that the population had a higher percentage involved in the sales sector (23.2%- see table 7.3). The clerical sector came third with 14.4 %. The second was labour with 17.0%. However, some employment categories were not available. This was because of the sample size which was small.

Table 7.38 Chinese areas- type of employment

	Freq.	Percentage (%)
Professional/technical	5	11.6
Admin./Managerial	7	16.3
Clerical	10	23.3
Sales	5	11.6
Services	11	25.6
Manufacturing	5	11.6
cases	43	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Like the Malays in monoethnic Malays, the Chinese in monoethnic Chinese areas can also be described as low middle income group. They had a slightly lower level of educational attainment and in a lower income bracket compared with the Chinese sample in the mixed areas.

In terms of employment, only a third were in the professional and administration group. This was supported by their level of education and their income. Most of them were renters because they were in a younger age group and had moved to their present homes because it was near their workplace. In terms of Chinese-Malay social interaction patterns, there was a higher chance of socialising in the workplace for the Chinese, considering that more than half of them worked along side the Malays at work and a third of them had a Malay as their head of department.

7.4 Summary

To summarize the similarities and differences between the Malays and Chinese residing in the different housing areas, table 7.39 will provide the key indicators.

Table 7.39 Key Indicators

Key Socio-Economic Variables	MIXED Malays	MIXED Chinese	MONO-ETHNIC MALAYS	MONO-ETHNIC CHINESE
Age	26-35	26-35	26-35	21-30
Marital Status	mostly married	mostly married	mostly married	mostly singles
Tenancy	51% homeowners	77% homeowners	56% homeowners	67% renters
Length of Residence	1-4 years	1-4 years	1-4 years	1-4 year
Income RM	1500-2500	1500-2500	1000-2000	1000-2000
Educational Level	46% with first degree	82% with first degree	21% with first degree	33% with first degree

Occupational types	mostly professional	mostly professional	mostly clerical	mostly services
Ethnicity of Head of Department	73% has Malays as Head of Department	41% has Chinese as Head of Deaprtment	62% has Malays as Head of Department	67% has Chinese as Head of Department
Level of social interaction at workplace	only 22% have interaction with Chinese employees	87% have interaction with Malay employees	one third have interaction with Chinese employees	about half have interaction with Malay employees
Place of employment	mostly private sector	mostly private sector	mostly private sector	mostly private sector

Based on the key socioeconomic variables above, the respondents residing at the mixed areas tend to fall within the more educated upper middle income groups, mostly involved in the professional sectors. There was a higher chance of Chinese- Malay social interaction at the mixed areas compared to Malay-Chinese social interaction. The Malays in the mixed areas tend to socialise at work with those from the same ethnic group. This seemed to be the situation also with the Malays at the mono ethnic Malay areas. Even in the monoethnic Chinese areas, about half of them worked with more than 50% Malay employees hence there was also a higher chance of Chinese-Malay social interactions at the monoethnic Chinese areas.

In terms of superordinate-subordinate relationship, Malays tend to have Malay bosses and Chinese tend to have Chinese bosses. However, considering that the Chinese in the mixed areas were mostly in the upper strata of the employment category and about a third of them worked in establishments employing more than 50% Malays, there was a greater possibility of Chinese-Malay superordinate-subordinate relationship.

However, the sample was not representative of the population of the city in all respects. Detailed comparison of the socioeconomic status of the sample to the population cannot be made due to the unavailability of detailed information about the city's population. The sample was selected with control measures in terms of types of housing to ensure that impact of housing types on social interaction patterns can be controlled. The exclusion of some types of housing had eliminated the possibility of a wider group of people being selected, especially from the lower income groups. The sample is hence a more educated group, because only conventional types of housing built by private developers were selected and public low cost housing and non-conventional types of housing were not included.

CHAPTER 8

HOUSING AND SOCIAL INTERACTION PATTERNS

Key Points

This chapter describes the social interaction patterns between Malays and Chinese residing in the three different types of residential areas. The first section provides an overview of the relationships between Malays and Chinese in general and the next section describes the social interaction patterns between the ethnic groups in the different types of areas. The key points in this chapter are that there are more non-socialisers than socialisers in the sample, that Chinese in mixed areas socialised more with Malays and that family relationships are still important for both ethnic groups.

8.0 Ethnic Relationship Between Malays and Chinese

In the context of this study, to what extent has the area inter-socialising of ethnic groups brought about changes in behaviour betweenMalays and Chinese? Are the Malays more open and more accepting of the Chinese now that they are living in the same neighbourhood and vice versa? Or is socialising only restricted to the workplace and residential areas are just places to come home to after work, to relax and unwind, but not a place where meaningful social interaction take place?

8.1 The Social Interaction Patterns Between Malays and Chinese

The first task was to establish the current socialising patterns between the Malays and Chinese respondents. The respondents were asked to respond to the question 'Other than your family members, your current friends are....... (refer to Questionnaire Appendix C)

a. mostly Malays

b. mostly Chinese

c. mostly Indians

d. Mixed (Malays, Chinese, Indians, others)

For the purpose of analysis, the socialising patterns between the ethnic groups will be discussed under the category of 'socialisers' that is individuals whose social interaction patterns is extended to those from other ethnic groups and 'non-socialisers' to describe individuals whose social interaction patterns is strictly with members from their same ethnic group. This will provide a general socioeconomic profile of those who socialised with other ethnic groups and those who did not.

Table 8.1 shows the percentage of socialisers (respondents who stated that their current socialising pattern included other ethnic groups-Chinese, Indian and mixed) and non-socialisers (respondents who claimed that they socialised only with their own ethnic group). Based on table 8.1, it was found that there was a significant difference at $p<0.05$ in terms of socialising patterns between Malays and Chinese. There was a greater proportion of non-socialisers in both ethnic groups (78% Malays and 71% Chinese) compared with socialisers.

Table 8.1 Friendship socialising patterns

Social interaction Patterns	Malays (%) n=146	Chinese(%) n=77
mostly Malays	78.1	2.6
mostly Chinese	2.7	71.4
mostly Indians	-	2.6
mixed (Malays, Chinese, Indian)	19.2	23.4
	100.0	100.0
	chi-square : 0.000,p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

8.1.1 Socioeconomic Background of Socialisers and Non-socialisers

A. Age group

Malay respondents who claimed that they socialised with other ethnic groups formed only 21.9% of the sample. There was a significant difference for socialisers and non-socialisers in terms of age for both ethnic groups. More than a third of the Malay socialisers were within the age groups of between 31-35 years. In contrast, Chinese socialisers formed 28. 6% of the Chinese respondents and about 32% of them were also in the same category of age group. On the other hand, more than half of the Malay non-socialisers were within the younger age group, mostly between 26-35 years of age and so were the Chinese non-socialisers. This suggests that socialisers were those who have been in work for quite a while compared to the non-socialisers who were probably those who have more recently completed their education. Table 8.2 provides the detailed information.

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Table 8.2 Age group of socialisers

Age group (years)	Malay Socialisers (%) n=32	Malay non-socialisers (%) n=114	Chinese socialisers (%) n=22	Chinese non-socialisers (%) n=55
21-25	21.9	10.5	22.7	14.5
26-30	6.2	44.7	9.1	49.1
31-35	34.4	26.3	31.8	21.8
36-40	25.0	11.4	18.2	-
41-45	12.5	7.1	9.1	9.1
46-50	-	-	9.1	5.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square= 0.0016 p<0.05		chi-square= 0.00009 p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

B. Place and Types of employment

The Malay socialisers were mostly employed in the private sector and this was also the case for the Chinese socialisers. There was no significant difference for either ethnic groups in terms of their place of employment (table 8.3). However, there was a significant difference in terms of the types of employment between Chinese socialisers and non-socialisers, but not for the Malays (table 8.4).

Table 8.3 Place of employment-socialisers and non-socialisers

Place of employment	Malay socialisers (%)	Malay non-socialisers (%)	Chinese socialisers (%)	Chinese non-socialisers (%)
government	37.5	41.2	31.8	23.6
private	62.5	57.0	68.2	54.5
self-employed	-	1.8	-	21.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:0.482 p>0.05		chi-square: 0.359 p>0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Most of the Malay socialisers were employed in the professional and technical, administration and managerial as well as the clerical sectors. The Chinese socialisers were mostly employed in the professional and technical sector, administration and managerial sectors and the clerical sector. However, it was quite surprising to find out that there were more Chinese non-socialisers than socialisers in the sales sector considering that this is the sector that has direct contact with the other ethnic groups in the city. The sales sector included those in the retail business like shop keepers, salesmen and catering business. This implies that, despite the high possibility of meeting and socialising with other ethnic groups, the socialising was merely business and did not lead to inter-ethnic friendships.

Table 8. 4 Types of employment-socialisers and non-socialisers

Types of employment	Malay socialisers (%)	Malay non-socialisers (%)	Chinese socialisers (%)	Chinese non-socialisers (%)
Professional/Technical	28.1	28.1	22.7	32.7
Administration/ Managerial	18.8	22.8	18.2	16.4
Clerical	40.5	28.1	36.4	10.9
Services	6.3	1.8	4.6	3.6
Sales	-	9.6	9.1	23.6
Manufacturing	6.3	6.1	-	12.7
Labour	-	3.5	-	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: 0.607		chi-square: 0.0010	
	p>0.05		p<0.05	

Source:Fieldwork,1997

C. Level of education

Most of the Malay socialisers were highly educated with at least a diploma, and this was also found to be similar for the Chinese socialisers (table 8.5). However, there was no significant difference between Malay socialisers and non-socialisers in terms of educational level but there was a significant difference between the Chinese socialisers and non-socialisers in terms of the educational level. Most of the Malay non-socialisers had at least a diploma but, most of the Chinese non-socialisers had a degree.

Table 8.5 Educational level- socialisers and non-socialisers

Level of educational	Malay socialisers (%)	Malay non-socialisers (%)	Chinese socialisers (%)	Chinese non-socialisers (%)
secondary level	12.5	16.7	22.7	1.8
diploma	50.0	50.0	18.2	45.5
degree	37.5	33.3	59.1	52.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:		chi-square:	
	0.285		0.00678	
	p>0.05		p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

D. Income

It was expected that those in the higher income group would socialise more than those with lower income groups. However, the findings did not support this expectation, at least not for the Malays. In terms of income, there was no significant difference between the Malay socialisers and non-socialisers. Socialisers and non-socialisers fall into both groups of low income earners and high income earners. However, there was a significant difference between Chinese socialisers and non-socialisers in terms of their income. Those in the low income bracket (below RM 1000) amongst the Chinese interviewed tend to be non-socialisers and there was also a slightly higher percentage of those in the RM 1000-2000 income bracket who were non-socialisers compared to socialisers. Hence, for the Malays, there was no association between income and social interaction pattern but for the Chinese, it seemed that the lower the income, the more likely that they socialised with other ethnic groups.

Table 8.6 Income - socialisers and non-socialisers

Income group(RM)	Malay socialisers (%)	Malay non-socialisers (%)	Chinese socialisers (%)	Chinese non-socialisers (%)
below 1000	6.3	14.0	-	14.5
1001-2000	56.3	56.1	50.0	60.0
2001-3000	18.7	17.6	27.3	16.4
above 3000	18.7	12.3	22.7	9.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:		chi-square:	
	0.1624		0.0000	
	p>0.05		p<0.05	

Source:Fieldwork,1997

8.1.2 Lunch at the office

One of the common features amongst Malaysian workers is going out to lunch during the lunch break. The findings suggest that socialisers from both ethnic groups tend to have lunch in mixed groups, compared with non-socialisers. Chinese, in general, tend to have lunch with members from the same ethnic group (table 8.7).

Table 8.7 Lunch at the office by socialising pattern

Lunch group	Malay socialisers (%)	Malay non-socialisers (%)	Chinese socialisers (%)	Chinese non-socialisers (%)
spouse	16.7	29.8	-	6.0
alone	13.3	3.5	9.1	28.0
Malay friends	30.0	59.6	9.1	-
Chinese friends	6.7	-	40.9	54.0
mixed group	33.3	7.1	40.9	12.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:0.000 , $p<0.05$		chi-square:0.000 , $p<0.05$	

Source: Fieldwork, 1997

8.1.3 Participation in organisations

For the purpose of this study, local organisations is defined as any organisations that are organised by the residents at the neighbourhood level and organisations at level higher than the neighbourhood are defined as organisations that are non-political in nature, set up at the work place or by other voluntary bodies. The organisations can be ethnic based, or multiracial. Participation in organisations is usually voluntary in nature and members are usually bounded by common interest and voluntarism of membership (Hashim, 1994). A high level of participation in voluntary organisation can be an indicator of the level of caring culture in a society (Othman, 1994). Therefore, participation in organisation can be an indicator of the extent of social interaction process between different ethnic groups if the organisations are multi-ethnic ones. Therefore, in order to establish if social interaction is taking place between the Malays and Chinese in spheres other than the at

home or at work, questions about their participation in organisations were posed. The organisations were differentiated between those at the local neighbourhood and those set up at work place, at the district, state or national level. However, the findings of this aspect indicated that there was little such participation in organisations. Overall those who got involved in organisations formed only 22% of the Chinese respondents and 35% of the Malay respondents.

The lack of participation in neighbourhood organisations was more apparent for the Chinese compared to the Malays. Only 2.5% of the Chinese were involved in organisations at the neighbourhood level compared to 20.5% Malays. However, there were more Chinese (19.5%) than Malays who were involved in organisations at the level higher than the neighbourhood compared to the Malays (14.5%).

The Malays who participated in organisations at the neighbourhood level were mostly those who earned between RM1000-2000 (52.4%). More than a third of them were in the administration and managerial sectors of employment. As for the Chinese, those who participated earned between RM 2000-2500 and were also in the administration and managerial sectors of employment. The involvement of the Malays were mostly in residents' associations, neighbourhood watch and religious associations. The Chinese were involved in neighbourhood watch and residents' associations.

In terms of organisation at the higher level, the Malays who participated were mostly earning above RM 3000 (38.1%), followed by those who earned between RM 1000 -1500 (23.8%) and the Chinese were those earning between RM 1500-2000 (46.7%) followed by those earning between RM2500-3000 (33.3%). In both groups, those who participated were those involved in the professional and technical sectors (38% of the Malays and 67% of the

Chinese). Most of the organisations they were involved in were related to their professions.

Based on the findings above, it can be summarised that the respondents who participated in organisations at either the neighbourhood level or at the higher levels, were those who were within the upper income groups for the Malays and middle to upper income group for the Chinese. Since the organisations they were involved in were mostly related to their profession and open to all ethnic groups, it cannot be said that there was an association between participation in organisation and social interaction patterns. The socialising that may occur can be said to be an extension of their work.

8.1.4 Social interaction at neighbourhood

In order to establish the social interaction patterns at the neighbourhood level, the respondents were asked questions with regard to their knowledge about their immediate neighbours, that is, neighbours residing along the same street and their visiting patterns. In a typical neighbourhood street consisting of terrace housing in a Malaysian housing area, there would be approximately 30 to 40 houses sharing the same street address.

A.Relatives at the neighbourhood

About a third of the Malays and Chinese had relatives living in the same neighbourhood. Kinship remain strong with the relatives and family members, and visting them remains a common ritual. However, there was a significant difference between the visiting patterns of the Malays and the Chinese.The Chinese seemed to show a stronger kinship pattern and this was illustrated by the frequency of visiting their relatives. About 57% of the Chinese visited

their relatives at least once a week (always) but only 27% of the Malays do so. Their visiting patterns are shown in table 8.8.

Table 8. 8 Frequency of visiting relatives

Frequency of visits	Malays(%) n=44	Chinese (%) n=23
always	27.3	56.5
sometimes	50.0	43.5
rarely	18.2	-
never	4.5	-
	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:0.0317, p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

B. Friends at the neighbourhood

49% of the Malays and 47% of the Chinese had friends from other ethnic groups living in the same neighbourhood. In both cases, the frequency of visits is about once a month (sometimes) that is 51% for the Malays and 47% for the Chinese (table 8.9). Considering that most of the visits were social in nature, this seems to suggest that inter-ethnic socialising take place outside workplaces.

Table 8.9 Frequency of visiting friend from other ethnic groups

Frequency of visits	Malays(%) n=55	Chinese (%) n=36
always	2.8	-
sometimes	50.7	47.2
rarely	28.2	30.6
never	18.3	22.2
	100.0	100.0
chi-square:0.727,p>0.05		

Source: Fieldwork,1997

A high proportion of respondents from both ethnic groups has friends from the same ethnic groups residing in their neighbourhood (77% Malays and 79% Chinese). Most of them visited their friends about once a month (59% Malays and 48% Chinese).

C. Contact with the neighbours

About 55% of the Malay respondents and 46% of the Chinese respondents claimed that they know more than half of their neighbours. 8.2% of the Malays claimed that they know all of their neighbours but no Chinese respondents claimed that they can do that. In terms of direct contact with the neighbours (that is communication with their neighbour), there was a significant difference between the Malays and the Chinese. Malays had more contact with their neighbours than the Chinese. Table 8.10 provides the detailed information about contact between neighbours.

Table 8.10 Contact with neighbour

Last time talked to neighbour	Malays (%)	Chinese(%)
today	17.1	14.3
yesterday	32.2	18.2
a few days ago	28.1	37.7
a few weeks ago	5.5	10.3
can't remember	15.8	19.5
never	1.3	-
	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:0.0088,p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

D. Exchanging goods with neighbours

Exchanging goods with neighbours from the same ethnic group took place between the neighbours. Most of them claimed that they borrowed or lent items to neighbours from the same ethnic groups at least once a month. Table 8.11 compares this contact patterns for the different groups.

Table 8.11 Exchanging goods with neighbours from same ethnic groups

Frequency	Malays(%)	Chinese(%)
always	8.2	-
sometimes	37.7	54.4
rarely	28.8	22.1
never	25.3	23.4
	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:0.1011,p>0.05	

Source:Fieldwork,1997

In general, there seemed to be a fair amount of contact taking place at the neighbourhood amongst the residents. Although the respondents were mainly resident for between 1-4 years, most have contact with the neighbours. However, when asked about the possibility of exchanging goods from neighbours of different ethnic group, only 22% of the Malays and 29% of the Chinese agreed to do so. This implies that while there was intra-ethnic exchanges between neighbours, inter-ethnic exchanges were still not favoured by both ethnic groups.

Other social activities that might bring the neighbours into closer contact like going for a picnic or day trips together seemed to be lacking even with each ethnic group. Only 7% of the Malays and 5% of the Chinese had picnics with neighbours from the same ethnic groups about once a month. When asked about the possibility of going for a picnic with neighbours from other ethnic groups, only 3% of the Malays agreed and none of the Chinese agreed.

E. Visiting during festivals

Table 8.12 describes the visiting patterns during festive seasons which is often highlighted as examples of unity by the mass media. Most of the Malays and Chinese visited friends from other ethnic groups during festive seasons. There did not seem to be any difference between the visiting patterns during festive seasons between the Malays and the Chinese on the whole.

However, there was insufficient information to say whether the groups visited were the same group every time. Amongst Malay socialisers, 46% visited their friends from other ethnic groups every year during festivals, compared with 40% Chinese socialisers. Compared with the total sample, socialisers tend to visit their friends from other ethnic groups more frequently.

Table 8.12 Visiting during festivals

Frequency of visit	Malays (%)	Chinese (%)
every year	15.1	13.0
sometimes	47.9	42.9
rarely	19.9	31.2
never	17.1	13.0
	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:0.2967,p>0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

8.15 Summary

There were more non-socialisers than socialisers amongst both ethnic group. However, in general, Malays and Chinese still prefer to mix with their own ethnic groups. When there was inter-socialising, it occured mostly for those who were above 30 years old. Those below 30 years old, who were had recently left the educational system, were mostly non-socialisers. A higher proportion of Malay Socialisers were mostly employed in private sectors. Malay non-socialisers were mostly in the government sector and Chinese socialisers were mostly employed in the government and private sectors. In terms of types of employment, Malay socialisers were mostly in clerical sector, and Chinese socialisers were mostly in administration and clerical sectors. Chinese non-socialisers were mostly in sales and manufacturing. A higher proportion of the socialisers were in the-middle income group for both ethnic group.

Participation in organisations at residential and at workplace amongst Malays and Chinese was generally low. Socialising at neighbourhood mostly occured amongst members from the same ethnic groups. Where there were inter-ethnic visits, it takes place only about once a month.

8.2 Types of Residential Area and Social Interaction Patterns

Now that the general form of social interaction patterns between Malays and Chinese had been established, the next stage is to investigate the interaction patterns between Malays and Chinese residing in the different types of residential areas.

8.2.1 Socialising Patterns

A. Current Socialising Patterns

Based on their socialising patterns (that is, the question "Other than your family members, your current friends are.........."), the responses from the respondents based on the types of areas are shown in table 8.13.

Table 8.13- Friendship socialising patterns

	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
Socialising Groups	Malays (%) n=78	Chinese (%) n=34	(%) n=68	(%) n=43
mostly Malays	82.1	5.9	73.5	2.3
mostly Chinese	2.6	67.6	2.9	81.4
mixed (Malays, Chinese, Indians)	15.4	20.6	23.5	16.3
mostly Indians	-	5.9	-	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square : 0.212, p>0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

Although more than 82% Malays and about about 68% Chinese socialised with mostly members from the same ethnic groups, 18% of the Malays and about a third of the Chinese in mixed areas socialised with members from other ethnic groups including Indians (socialisers). This finding seems to reflect the general social interaction patterns of Malays and Chinese on the whole.

As in the mixed areas, about 27% of the Malays can be considered socialisers. The socialisers were mostly those who were within the middle to upper income group, earning between RM 2000-3000 and were employed in the professional, administration and clerical and sales sectors. The socialisers were also those who worked in the private sectors. On the other hand, 81.4% of the Chinese in homogenous Chinese areas were non-socialisers compared to 18.6% socialisers in Chinese areas.

Compared with the Chinese in mixed areas, a slightly small percentage of the Chinese in monoethnic Chinese areas socialised with the Malays. These group of socialisers were mostly in the sales and clerical sector, earning between RM1500-2000. Most likely, they socialised with people they met as part of their work, considering that more than two thirds of them were employed in the private sector and about half of them worked with Malay colleagues.

B Lunch At work

Table 8.14 Lunch at the Office

	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays (%) n=78	Chinese(%) n=34	(%) n=68	(%) n=43
spouse	12.9	8.8	27.0	-
Malay friends	64.1	-	60.9	-
Chinese friends	2.6	35.3	-	69.7
alone	5.1	23.5	6.1	18.2
mixed group	15.3	32.4	6.0	12.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square: 0.000, p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

From table 8.14, there are some evidence that Malays and Chinese who lived in mixed neighbourhoods go out for lunch in a mixed groups compared to those in monoethnic areas. Malays, in general, tend to eat with their own group and so are Chinese in monoethnic areas. 47% of the Chinese in mixed areas were employed in government sectors and 62% of the Malays in mixed areas worked in the private sectors. This implies that there is a greater likelihood that they socialised with other ethnic groups at their workplace. The finding also shows that people who lived in mixed areas extend their social interaction beyond their residential areas.

C.Closest Friends

However, when asked to identify their closest friend, that is someone they could confide during times of needs, all the respondents, both Malay and Chinese stated that their closest friend came from the same ethnic group. This indicated that although their socialising patterns were multiethnic, all respondents confided with their own ethnic groups on matters of a confidential nature. A larger portion of the people they confided in consisted of their family members (table 8.15).

Table 8.15 Closest friend

	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
Closest friend	Malays (%)	Chinese(%)	(%)	(%)
	n=78	n=34	n=68	n=43
Family members (including immediate and extended family)	80.8	88.2	76.4	60.5
office colleagues	-	11.8	11.8	4.7
best friend	19.2	-	11.8	34.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork,1997

For the Malays in the Malay areas, when asked about the people they confided in times of need, all of them stated that their closest friend were Malays and 76.4% stated that they turn to their family members in times of need. Hence, family relationship still play a significant role in the lives of the Malay respondents. Similarly to the Chinese in mixed areas, when asked about their closest friend, the Chinese in monoethnic areas also had close relationships with their family. 61% of them stated that they confided in family members and 35% confided in best friend. All of them stated that their

closest friend were of the same ethnic group. Table 8.16 compares the residence of the closest friend for respondents from the three types of areas.

Table 8.16 Residence of closest friends

	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays(%) n=43	Chinese(%) n=20	(%) n=23	(%) n=15
same neighbourhood	21.8	17.6	17.6	42
different neighbourhood in Kuala Lumpur	17.9	44.1	61.8	33
different state	60.3	38.2	17.6	25
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100
	chi-square:0.0135,p<0.05			

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Most of the closest friend of the Chinese respondents from the mixed areas resided in different neighbourhoods within Kuala Lumpur. Since a majority of the them were former residents of the city, this indicated that they still maintained a close link with family members residing in other residential areas. This was also found to be similar for Chinese in homogenous Chinese areas. Most of their closest friend lived either in the same neighbourhood (42%) or in different a neighbourhood in Kuala Lumpur (33%). This was hardly surprising considering less than 10% of the respondents came from outside Kuala Lumpur. On the other hand, the closest friends of the Malays in mixed areas lived outside the capital, but this was not found to be the case for the Malays in Malay areas.

<u>8.2.2 Participation in organisations</u>

One of the key indicators of social interaction patterns at neighbourhood level was the involvement of residents in neighbourhood activities. The respondents were first asked to identify the presence of certain neighbourhood organisations that were quite common in residential areas in Malaysia. Participation in organisations at a higher level than the neighbourhood is another indicator that can be used as a measure of social contact, provided that the organisations are multiethnic. The socialising that occur will be informal and will not involve competition in terms of work promotion and the like, which means there is likely to be less conflict between the ethnic groups.

The organisations were the Residents'Association (normally set up by the residents with the support of the Ministry of National Unity and Community Development), The Parents' Teachers Association, local neighbourhood associations, local religious associated associations (normally set up by the local religious groups) and Rukun Tetangga or Neighbourhood Watch (a body set up by the Department of National Unity). Apart from the religious associations, the other organisations are usually multiracial. Table 8.17 provides the responses given by the respondents with regard to the presence of the above mentioned associations in their residential areas.

Overall, there seemed to be a higher unawareness amongst the Chinese, compared with the Malays, about to the presence of the organisations at their neighbourhoods. Other than the residents' association and neighbourhood watch (rukun tetangga), Chinese respondents, especially in the Chinese areas, seemed unaware of the existence of other associations in the neighbourhood. These may be due to the fact that they are mostly singles. Most of these respondents were new residents of the housing areas and amongst the Chinese respondents, only 28% of them had children of primary school-going age (between 7-12 years) compared with the Malays (42%). The choice of schools where parents sent their children may also be a reason why there was a lack of

participation in the local neighbourhood school's association. Parents have a choice about where to sent their children and some may have chosen to send their children to Chinese medium school or schools near their workplace, not near their home.

Table 8.17 - Knowledge on organisations at neighbourhood areas

	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays (%)n=78	Chinese (%)n=34	(%) n=68	(%) n=43
Neighbourhood Association				
Yes	47.4	17.6	26.5	4.7
No	19.2	38.2	20.6	11.6
Don't know	33.3	44.1	52.9	83.7
chi-square:0.008, p<0.05				
Residents' Association				
Yes	59.0	58.8	64.7	18.6
No	15.4	17.6	5.9	11.6
Don't Know	25.6	23.5	29.4	69.8
chi-square: 0.943, p>0.05				
Rukun Tetangga				
Yes	33.3	55.9	17.6	23.3
No	38.5	5.9	38.2	25.6
Don't know	28.2	38.2	44.2	51.2
chi-square: 0.0085, p<0.05				
Parents' Teachers Association				
Yes	64.1	35.3	47.1	44.2
No	20.5	-	14.7	-
Don't know	15.4	64.7	38.2	55.8

chi-square: 0.0000, p<0.05

Religious Association

Yes	44.9	-	88.3	32.6
No	25.6	38.2	2.9	2.3
Don't know	29.5	61.8	8.8	65.1

chi-square: 0.000, p<0.05

Source: Fieldwork,1997

With regard to participation at organisations at neighbourhood areas, both ethnic groups did not seemed to participate actively in the organisations. Only 18% of the Malays and 6% of the Chinese respondents in mixed areas participated. The organisations that the Malays were involved in were mostly Residents' Association, Religious Association and the Neighbourhood Watch whereas the Chinese were involved in mostly the Residents' Association and Neighbourhood Watch. The lack of participation in organisations reflected the sample where overall participation seemed to be lacking in both ethnic groups.

Of the 24% of the Malay in monoethnic areas who were involved in organisations at neighbourhood level, 63% were members of the religious association, 25% were members of the resident association and 12% were involved in the Parents Teachers Association. Again, the lack of participation in neighbourhood organisations may be due to the age group of the respondents where most of them were within the 26-35 years of age and only 38.3 % of the respondents had children in the primary school going age. Cultural and religious factors explained for the higher rate of participation in religious association. For the Chinese in monoethnic areas, only 13% participated in neighbourhood activities, mostly in Neighbourhood Watch (71%) and Residents' Association (20%).

The reason for the higher percentage of Malays than Chinese involved in local neighbourhood activities can be explained by cultural and religious factors. Part of the religious requirement for the Malays is the need for congregation in certain matters like daily prayers especially Jumaah (Friday) prayers, weddings and funerals. Hence, the Malays felt the need to establish local neighbourhood facilities earlier in their residence as part of the responsibilities in the community. However, Malays and Chinese in mixed areas seemed more aware of organisations in their neighbourhood than those in monoethnic areas.

In terms of participation in organisations at other levels than the neighbourhood, only 17% of the Malays and 15% of the Chinese respondents were involved in organisations. Table 8.18 describes the types of organisations. Chinese seemed to be more involved in organisations at higher level than the Malays. Similar to the mixed areas, the participation rate of the respondents in Malay areas was very low. Only 16 respondents (24%) stated that they were involved in an organisation at neighbourhood level and 12% in organisations at higher level than the neighbourhood.

Table 8.18 Mixed areas - Types of organisation at state level

	Malays(%)	Chinese(%)
Charity/Social Organisations	46.2	17.1
Sport and Recreational Organisation	23.1	20.6
Professional	30.8	62.3
	100.0	100.0
chi-square:0.0246,p<0.05		

Source: Fieldwork,1997

There are significant differences in terms of the types of organisations The Malays were mostly involved in social organisations set up at the work place.

Most of the Chinese respondents were involved in professional organisations related to their employment. On the whole, although the respondents in these mixed areas were considered upper income group, participation in organisations at the neighbourhood and higher level seemed to be lacking. Hence, other than the work place, social interaction between members from other ethnic groups at other social spheres was at its minimum.

The lack of participation in organisations at higher levels than the neighbourhood for the groups under study may be due to the stage of their life cycle where most of the respondents were within the age group where they are still in the process of 'climbing the corporate ladder'. It was expected that more Chinese than Malays will be involved in organisations other than the professional and those related to the workplace.

Of the 12% involved in organisations at a district or state levels, 50% of them were involved in associations related to their profession like Institute of Engineers Malaysia, Association of Nursing, 25% were involved in associations set up at work place and 25% were involved in associations related to recreational and sporting activities like badminton association, football association amongs others. In the Chinese areas, none of the respondents interviewed were involved in any of the organisations at the state level.

8.2.3 Socialising patterns at neighbourhood

In order to provide a broader understanding of the socialising patterns at the neighbourhood level, respondents were asked questions about the presence of friends or family members in residential areas and the extent of their visit to them. On the average, about 68% of the respondents in mixed areas did not have relatives living in the same neighbourhood. Only 27% of the Malays and

35% of the Chinese had relatives living in the same neighbourhood. The frequency of visits also varied between Malays and Chinese with more Chinese visiting than Malays. This pattern was also reflected in the overall sample. In general, there was only a marginally significant difference between the visiting patterns of Malays and Chinese residing in mixed areas. For the Malays in Malay areas, most of the respondents were born and brought up in the city. However, only 44.1% of them had relatives residing in the same neighbourhood and 57% visited them about once a month.

This was similar to the Malays in mixed areas. Like the Malays, the Chinese were also in close contact with their family members and relatives. As with most of the respondents, a majority of the respondents in Chinese areas were permanent city dwellers. However, only 26% of them had relatives living in the same neighbourhood. 45% of them visited their relatives at least once a week (always). Maintaining family relationship was still important for both ethnic groups. Table 8.19 provides a detailed breakdown of the frequency of visits.

Table 8.19 Frequency of visiting relatives

	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays(%)	Chinese(%)	(%)	(%)
Always	28.6	64.3	33.3	45.0
Sometimes	42.9	35.7	56.7	55.0
Rarely	19.0	-	10.0	-
Never	9.5	-	-	-
	100.0	100	100.0	100.0

chi-square:0.0451,p<0.05 Source: Fieldwork,1997

In relation to friends from other ethnic groups living in the same neighbourhood, 62% of the Chinese and 47% of the Malays had friends living in the same residential area. However, there was a higher frequency of visiting

by the Chinese, compared with the Malays. There was also a higher percentage of Chinese having friends of other ethnic groups in the mixed area than in the overall Chinese sample. Hence, there was more opportunity for Chinese in mixed areas having friends from other ethnic group, compared to the Chinese sample as a whole. Table 8.20 shows the breakdown.

Table 8.20 - Frequency of visiting friends from other ethnic groups

	Mixed		Malays (%)	Chinese (%)
	Malays (%) n=37	Chinese(%) n=23	n=34	n=13
always	-	-	5.9	-
Sometimes	27.0	65.2	76.5	15.4
Rarely	37.8	17.4	17.6	53.8
Never	35.1	17.4	-	30.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square: 0.0038,p<0.05 Source: Fieldwork,1997

With regard to visiting friends from the same ethnic group, there did not seem to be any difference between the Malays and Chinese residing in mixed areas. Most of the respondents from both ethnic groups had friends from the same ethnic groups residing in the same residential areas. In terms of visits, nearly half of them visited their friends at least once a month .

Table 8.21 Visiting friends from same ethnic groups

	Mixed		Malays(%)	Chinese(%)
	Malays (%) n=62	Chinese(%) n=21	n=54	n=43
always	9.7	-	25.9	39.6
sometimes	54.8	47.6	63.0	48.8
rarely	25.8	42.9	11.1	11.6
never	9.7	9.5	-	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
chi-square:0.1264,p>0.05				

Source: Fieldwork,1997

79% of the Malay respondents in Malay areas had friends of the same ethnic group living in the neighbourhood. 50% of them had friends of different ethnic groups living in the same neighbourhood. Most of them reflected similar patterns of visiting their friends of the same ethnic group and different ethnic group that is about once a month. 59% of the Malay respondents had visitors during the period of the survey. 80% of the visitors were family members who were Malays. More than half of the visits were personal and family related visits and 53% of the visitors came from different states. However, for the Chinese in monoethnic areas, 93% of them had friends of the same ethnic group residing in the neighbourhood and only 35% had friends of other ethnic groups residing in the same neighbourhood. The frequency of visiting friends of same ethnic group and of different ethnic groups was similar to the respondents that was residing in Malay monoethnic areas that was about once a month.

8.2.4 Identifying neighbours

One would expect that a neighbour is someone who can be relied upon in times of emergencies at home. When asked to identify their immediate neighbours, only 3% of the Malays and none of the Chinese in mixed areas know all their neighbours. For the Malays in monoethnic areas, more than half of them can identify at least 50% of their neighbours.

Despite their lack of attachment to the neighbourhood, more than half of the Chinese respondents in Chinese areas claimed that they could identify at least half of their neighbours. This was much more than the Chinese in the mixed areas who could only identify less than a quarter of their neighbours. Table 8.22 provides the details.

Table 8.22 Know the neighbours

	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays (%)	Chinese (%)	(%)	(%)
All of them	2.6	-	14.7	-
more than 75%	32.1	11.8	32.4	25.6
50-75%	9.0	29.4	20.6	23.3
25-49%	15.4	8.8	5.9	30..9
less than 25%	38.5	50.0	26.5	30.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:0.812,p>0.05			

Source: Fieldwork,1997

More than half of the respondents responded that they did talk to at least one of their neighbours no less than a week ago. Hence, there was contact between neighbours although infrequent. However, most of the contact between

neighbours tend to be just a formal exchange of greetings because 92% of the Malays and none of the Chinese had been involved in any sort of social activities like picnics with members from the same or different ethnic groups. Exchanging goods like borrowing of tools, magazines, or exchanging food from members of the same ethnic groups was less frequent amongst the Malays (32%) and more common amongst the Chinese (59%). However, when asked about the possibility of exchanging items with neighbours from different ethnic groups, 84% of the Malays would not want to do it but 53% of the Chinese were willing to exchange items with neighbours from other ethnic groups. Table 8.23 provides the information regarding exchanging of goods between neighbours of the same ethnic group.

Table 8.23 - Exchanging goods between neighbours of same ethnic group

| | Mixed | | Malays | Chinese |
	Malays(%) n=37	Chinese(%) n=24	(%) n=30	(%) n=32
always	12.8	-	2.9	-
sometimes	19.2	58.8	58.8	51.2
rarely	38.5	5.9	17.6	34.8
never	29.5	35.3	20.6	14.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:0.0000,p<0.05			

Source: Fieldwork,1997

It was found that exchanging goods with neighbours from the same ethnic group happen more often for Malays who resided in Malay areas than for Malays who resided in mixed areas This may indicate a deeper sense of neighbourliness amongst the Malay in monoethnic areas than the Malays in mixed areas. The spirit of community present in rural villages may still be practiced in these Malay urban areas, despite undergoing urbanisation.

However, most of these Malay areas were formerly 'Malay kampungs' in the city and had only recently been undergoing development.

However, when asked about exchanging goods with neighbours from different ethnic groups, only 29.4% of them would consider doing it. Again, religious barrier and pluralistic ignorance may be influencing the attitude of the Malays. Despite the frequency of exchanging of items in the neighbourhood, other social activities were found to be lacking. When asked about whether they had picnics with their neighbours, 82.4% of them stated that they had never done so. The relationship was probably not close enough to enable the respondents to interact socially outside their home environment. None of them would consider the possibility of going out socially on a picnic with a neighbour from a different ethnic group.

For the Chinese in monoethnic areas, About 70% claimed that they had recent contact with their neighbour that is they had talked to their neighbour within the last few days. More than half of the respondents had exchanged or borrow things from their neighbours from the same ethnic group. Considering that a majority of them had friends residing in the same neighbourhood, it was not surprising that exchanging goods took place, despite most of the respondents being male and single. However, when asked about the possibility of exchanging goods with neighbours from different ethnic group, only 9% of them were willing to do so.

Although the respondents were a relatively young group, social activities like picnic between neighbours of the same ethnic group did not take place as often as expected. 86% of them stated that they had never go for a picnic with their neighbours.

8.2.5 Visiting patterns during festivals

As a multicultural society, Malaysia is rich with diversities in terms of the religious and cultural celebrations. Since the 1990's, the concept of 'open house' during festivals had become a part of the Malaysian way of life. When the question of visiting during festivals were posed to the respondents, about 21% of the Malays visited their friends from other ethnic groups every year compared to 18% of the Chinese. This pattern was reflected in the sample. Table 8.24 provides the details of the visiting pattern.

Table 8.24 Visiting during festivals

	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays(%)	Chinese(%)	(%)	(%)
	n=47	n=24	n=33	n=15
Every year	20.5	17.6	8.8	9.3
sometimes	33.3	47.1	64.7	39.5
rarely	24.4	23.5	14.7	37.2
never	21.8	11.8	11.8	14
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:0.464,p>0.05			

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Visits during festival took place between friends from different ethnic groups. However, since the number of friends visited were not asked, it cannot be established whether the visits consisted of many houses during the festival or only specific to a particular house every year. In terms of visiting during festivals, 64% of the Malays in Malay areas claimed that they visited their friends from other ethnic groups during festivals about once in two years.

8.3 Summary

In general, there were more non-socialisers than socialisers amongst both ethnic groups. Most of the socialisers were in the their early thirties and employed in the private sector It was found that there were more socialisers amongst Malays and Chinese residing in mixed areas compared to those in monoethnic areas. Malays and Chinese who had lunch in mixed groups also tend to live in mixed areas.

In confidential and family matters, both the Malays and Chinese tend to confide mostly in their family members. Hence, in both societies, the family still play an important role in the lives of their members despite living in urban areas. The strong family relationship is a cultural factor of both the Malays and the Chinese, perhaps influenced by religion.

Social interaction at neighbourhood took place between Malays and Chinese residing in mixed areas although the Chinese tend to make more effort to socialise with neighbours from different ethnic groups compared to their Malay neighbours. Malays tend to visit friends from the same ethnic group but the Chinese visited their friends from the opposite group. This was also reflected in the visits during festivals where irrespective of which area they were residing, the Chinese visited their friends during the festivals.

The 'open house' concept during the festivals was started by the ministers from various ethnic groups as a symbol of unity between the different races not very long ago in the mid -1980's. It was started on a large scale by the Prime Minister having an open house during the Eid and later followed by the Presidents of the various political groups during their festivals. It was also done by various ministries and now became a new way of celebrating the festivals. This is one time where food for all is normally catered for. It was

found that socialisers of both ethnic groups visited friends from other ethnic groups more frequently than non-socialisers.

However, there seemed to be a lack of participation amongst the Chinese in neighbourhood activities compared to the Malays. However, this may be due to the fact that the Chinese in mixed areas were newly residents in the areas and the Chinese in monoethnic areas were mostly renters and single. The Malays tend to participate in organisations mostly as part of their obligations to the community which was required by the religion. However, the findings suggested that Chinese were more involved in organisations at higher level than the Malays. Hence, this was one avenue where social interaction can be encouraged between individuals from other ethnic group but because it is voluntary in nature, this can prove to be difficult. The finding also suggests that Malays and Chinese in mixed areas were more aware of neighbourhood activities compared to those in monoethnic areas.

The work place was still the place where social interaction with other ethnic groups can happen successfully. In cases where the Chinese were working in the government sector or Malays working in the private sector, socialising at work place seemed to encourage informal social interaction outside the work space. Although socialisers tend to fall into the educated, middle to upper income professional and managerial workers in both ethnic groups, it cannot be generalised that only those that fall into that categories socialised with other ethnic groups because the non-socialisers also depict similar characteristics.

However, the overall sample was biased towards the middle income group and the selection of specific group of population made it difficult for a firm conclusion of the socioeconomic profile of the socialisers and non-socialisers to be made. Therefore, the findings of this study warrants further research of specific groups in order to establish a more complete profile of socialisers and non-socialisers amongst the population of the city.

CHAPTER 9

HOUSING AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Key Points

The points in this chapter are the discussion of using a Guttman's scale to measure integrative attitudes between Malays and Chinese. It was found that the scale which was an adaptation of the Borghadus social distance index was scalable for all types of areas. It was also found that socialisers were better integrated than non-socialisers and those residing in mixed areas were better integrated than those in monoethnic areas.

9.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe the integration patterns of the different ethnic groups to see whether there were significant differences between the attitudes of the Malays and the Chinese in terms of the level of integration (tolerance) of each item. The discussion will be divided into 3 parts: the first part will provide an explanation of the Guttman's scale of reproducibility which was used as the basis of measuring the level of integration, the second part will provide an overall view of the attitudes of Malay and Chinese, to the individual integrative measures and the final part will look into the relationship between the integrative items and some socioeconomic variables to see if the level of integration is related to certain socioeconomic status. The next chapter discusses the relationship between residence (area types) and integration in greater detail than in this chapter.

9.1 Part one - Guttman's scale of reproducibility

The Guttman technique attempts to determine the unidimensionality of a scale. Only items meeting the criterion of reproducibility are acceptable as scalable. If a scale is unidimensional, then a person who has a more favourable attitude than another should respond to each statement with equal or greater favourableness than the other (Miller,1991). This means that, if a person choose a response that requires a higher level of tolerance, he should also respond to items that require a lower level of tolerance. Each score corresponds to a highly similar response pattern or scale type. Only a few statements (five to ten) are needed to provide a range of scalable responses. Scalability is important because it ensures the reliability of the scales in measuring the degree of favourableness.

9.1.1 Concept of Reproducibility

The concept of reproducibility was introduced by authors of scale analysis to make judgements about the scalibility of the groups of items under consideration. Several methods had been introduced like the scalogram board, the tabulation technique, the Cornell technique and the least square method. For the purpose of this study, the tabulation method had been used. The method involves computing the number of people in the sample making a response to each question. The responses made by the respondents were then marked under each questions and the consistency of the responses was then checked against the scale types.

In this study, the Guttman scale index consisted of a seven item questions with two responses, that is don't mind (agree- A) or reluctant (disagree- D). The possible responses to this question are 128 (2 to the power of 7) but only 8 would fit the scale type patterns as shown below. Any deviation to the pattern (responses that do not fit the pattern) was considered a response error.

7.AAAAAAA

6.AAAAAAD

5. AAAAADD

4. AAAADDD

3. AAADDDD

2.AADDDDD

1.ADDDDDD

0.DDDDDDD

(A -Agree and D - Disagree)

9.1.2 The coefficient of reproducibility

The coefficient of reproducibility is defined as one minus the proportion of the total reponses, summing over items and respondents, which are classified as reproducibility errors (Blalock,1968). By convention, a coefficient of reproducibility of greater than 0.90 was required as evidence of an adequate fit of the scale model to data, although this figure is considered arbitrary by Festinger (1947) and Blalock (1968). However, in this research the coefficient of reproducibility was 0.907 which implied that the items were scalable.

Based on table 9.1, it was found that there was a higher percentage of respondents who responded to items on the lower end of the integrative attitudes than the upper end of the integrative attitudes. 1.4% disagree totally to all the statements (ie no tolerance at all). Also, scale type 3 where the statement was about introducing someone from another ethnic group as a member to a social club seemed exceptionally high for all the cases (see table 9.2). Hence, if that particular item was excluded from the scale types enhanced it further (0.92). For the coefficient of reproducibility based on ethnic groups, the results is presented in table 9.2 and 9.3.

Table 9.1 Index of Integration (For the whole sample)

Scale type	% of respondents n=233	items	scale error
7	33.0	allow child to marry some one from the other ethnic group	14
6	28.0	leave children in the care of neighbours from the other ethnic group	6
5	47.0	leave house keys in the care of neighbours from the other ethnic group	20
4	69.0	live next door to a neighbour from the other ethnic group	36
3	96.0	introduce as a member in a club	41
2	80.0	share an office space	15
1	69.0	share a table	10
0	1.4	none of the above	0
Total			142

Coefficient = 1- 142/ 7 x 223
= 1 - 145/1561
= 1- 0.093 = 0.907

Table 9.2. Index of integration (Malays)

Scale type	% of respondents n=146	items	scale error
7	41.0	allow child to marry	12
6	34.0	leave children in the care of neighbours	6
5	56.0	leave house keys	11
4	67.0	live next door to a neighbour	19
3	98.0	introduce as a member in a club	28
2	81.0	share an office space	11
1	58.0	share a table	5
0	-	none of the above	-
Total			92

Coefficient = 1- 92/7x146
= 1- 0.090
= 0.91

Table 9.3 Index of integration (Chinese)

Scale type	% of respondents n=77	items	scale error
7	17.0	allow child to marry	1
6	17.0	leave children in the care of neighbours	1
5	29.0	leave house keys	6
4	73.0	live next door to a neighbour	17
3	91.0	introduce as a member in a club	11
2	66.0	share an office space	3
1	87.0	share a table	5
0	4.0	none of the above	0
Total			44

Coefficient = 1- 44/7x77
= 1- 0.086 = 0.914

In terms of the difference between ethnic groups, it was discovered that for both groups, the coefficient of reproducibility did not differ very much that is 0.91 (Malays) and 0.914 (Chinese).

9.1.3 Coefficient of Reproducibility Based on Areas

The index of integration on the areas showed that the coefficient of reproducibility in the mixed areas was 0.91, in the Malay areas was 0.90 and in the Chinese areas was 0.89. Tables 9.4, 9.5 and 9.6 show the results of the scalability for mixed areas. Breaking down the reproducibility error in mixed areas based on ethnicity, it was found that there was only a slight difference in the reproducibility error for both ethnic groups.

Table 9.4 Index of integration (mixed areas)

Scale type	% of respondents n=112	items	scale error
7	40.0	allow child to marry	8
6	31.0	leave children in the care of neighbours	4
5	65.0	leave house keys	18
4	68.0	live next door to a neighbour	15
3	94.0	introduce as a member in a club	12
2	80.0	share an office space	7
1	71.0	share a table	5
0	2.0	none of the above	0
Total			69

Coefficient = 1-69/7x112
          =0.91

Table 9.5 Index of Integration (Mixed area-Malay respondents)

Scale type	% of respondents n=78	items	scale error
7	47.0	allow child to marry	8
6	35.0	leave children in the care of neighbours	4
5	68.0	leave house keys	11
4	67.0	live next door to a neighbour	10
3	97.0	introduce as a member in a club	13
2	81.0	share an office space	5
1	62.0	share a table	3
0	0	none of the above	0
Total			54

Coefficient = 1- 54/78x7
            =0.90

Table 9.6 Index of Integration (Mixed areas -Chinese respondents)

Scale type	% of respondents n=34	items	scale error
7	24.0	allow child to marry	1
6	24.0	leave children in the care of neighbours	1
5	59.0	leave house keys	6
4	71.0	live next door to a neighbour	6
3	82.0	introduce as a member in a club	1
2	77.0	share an office space	2
1	95.0	share a table	3
0	6.0	none of the above	0
Total			21

Coefficient = 1- 21/34x7
            =0.91

The reproducibility error for the Chinese areas was slightly lower compared to the mixed areas and the Malay areas. However, considering that the overall coefficient of reproducibility for the whole sample was 0.90, a sample size of 43 for the Chinese respondents in mixed areas and producing an error of 0.89 was considered to be acceptable.

Table 9.7 Index of integration (Chinese areas)

Scale type	% of respondents n=43	items	scale error
7	0	allow child to marry	0
6	11.6	leave children in the care of neighbours	1
5	11.6	leave house keys	4
4	4.7	live next door to a neighbour	12
3	74.4	introduce as a member in a club	12
2	95.3	share an office space	2
1	81.4	share a table	2
0	2.3	none of the above	0
Total			33

Coefficient = 1- 33/43x7
$$= 0.89$$

For the Malay areas, the coefficient was 0.90 (table 9.8).

Table 9.8 Index of integration (Malay areas)

Scale type	% of respondents n=68	items	scale error
7	36.8	allow child to marry	5
6	33.8	leave children in the care of neighbours	3
5	42.6	leave house keys	2
4	67.6	live next door to a neighbour	11
3	100.0	introduce as a member in a club	16
2	82.4	share an office space	7
1	58.8	share a table	3
0	0	none of the above	0
Total			47

Coefficient = 1- 47/68x7
$$= 0.90$$

It was interesting to note that those who did not agree to any of the statements came from the Chinese and residing in mixed and monoethnic areas. Overall, Malays seemed to give positive responses to most of the statements of the higher end of the integration index, compared with the Chinese. A further analysis of the integration variables, based on ethnicity provides a wider picture of the integration levels for the two ethnic groups.

9.2 Part two - overview of the general attitudes

9.2.1 Item 1: Sharing a table at a restaurant

Sharing a table at a restaurant was considered suitable as a condition for the lowest level of integration because it is a situation where social interaction is limited and in cases where there is no choice of a free table one can choose to walk away or tolerate a few minutes of one's time having a quick meal even, if the company is not desirable. According to Nash (1989) the shared table - commensality- is the basis of much social exchange and solidarity. The responses given by the different ethnic group on the first item is shown in table 9.9.

Table 9.9 Sharing a table

	Malays(%) (n=146)	Chinese(%) (n=77)
Don't mind	60.3	87.0
Reluctant	39.7	13.0
	100.0	100.0

Chi-square:significance level=0.00004, p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

The above responses seemed to indicate that in general Malays and Chinese did not mind sharing a table in a restaurant although in the past, racial stereotyping about attitudes and taboos about food would make the idea of even sharing a table inconceivable (Rabushka,1971). The level of integration was also shown in the level of intermixing during lunch breaks described in the previous chapter. However, more Malays than Chinese seemed to be more reluctant to share a table at lunch.

In terms of areas, there was a significant difference at p<0.05 between the attitudes of Malays and Chinese residing in different types of area with regard to sharing a table at a restaurant. Although generally, Malays and Chinese did not seemed to mind sharing a table with a person from another ethnic group, there was even less reluctance amongst those living it in mixed areas, especially amongst the Chinese (table 9.10).

Table 9.10 Sharing a table in a restaurant by area

Areas	Mixed(%)		Malays (%)	Chinese (%)
	Malays (n=78)	Chinese (n=34)	Malays (n=68)	Chinese (n=43)
Don't mind	61.5	94.1	58.8	81.4
Reluctant	38.5	5.9	41.2	18.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square level:0.0004,p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

It was also found that there was a significant difference at p<0.05 between the attitudes to sharing tables and social interaction patterns. It was found that 88% of socialisers did not mind sharing a table compared with 65% non-socialisers. This attitude was consistent with the findings in Rabushka's (1971) study where there were more socialisers than non-socialisers (although he used the term mixers and non-mixers) who were to share tables.

9.2.2 Item 2: Sharing office space

Sharing office space is a common phenomenon in multiracial offices, more common perhaps in the private sector employment than in the public sector. Considering that a higher percentage of the respondents were employed in the private than public sector, it was expected that there would be a high degree of integration in terms of sharing office spaces with someone from another ethnic group. Sharing an office space required some level of tolerance, because a person spends at least 8 hours in the company of another in a shared space, hence privacy is limited. The reponses for item 2 is shown in table 9.11.

Table 9.11 Sharing an office space

	Malays(%) n=146	Chinese(%) n=77
Don't mind	81.5	77.9
Reluctant	18.5	22.1
	100.0	100.0

Chi-square level:0.522, p>0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

As indicated in table 9.11, there was no significant difference between the attitudes of Malays and Chinese. Despite a longer duration of social interaction, the prospect of sharing a working space with a colleague from another ethnic group seemed less uncomfortable for a Malay than sharing a table at a restaurant with a stranger from another ethnic group. In terms of area, table 9.12 provides the results.

Table 9.12 Sharing an office space by area

Area	Mixed(%)		Malays(%) n=68	Chinese(%) n=43
	Malay n=78	Chinese n=34		
Don't mind	80.8	76.5	82.4	79.1
Reluctant	19.2	23.5	17.6	20.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square level: 0.6046,p>0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

The level of integration in terms of sharing an office space was also reflected the different areas. Malays and Chinese in both areas seemed to consider the idea of sharing an office space tolerable probably because the respondents were mostly employed in private sector employment where multiracial social interaction at workplace is inevitable. In terms of the attitude of sharing an office by social interaction pattern, it was found that socialisers did not mind sharing an office space in comparison to non-socialisers. About a quarter of the non-socialisers were reluctant to share an office space with someone from the other ethnic group.

9.2.3 Item 3: Introduce as a member to my club

Although introducing someone from another ethnic group to a social club may seem more like a social gesture and require less level of tolerance than the above two items, there is an element of trust and a reputation to be maintained by the introducer. One would probably be more selective about who one would admit as a member of a club than an office colleague. Hence, it was

expected that there would be a lower level of integration compared to item 1 and 2. Table 9.13 provides the responses.

Table 9.13 Introduce as a member in my club

	Malays(%) n=146	Chinese(%) n=77
Don't mind	98.6	90.9
Reluctant	1.4	9.1
	100.0	100.0

Chi-square level:0.0053, p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

Overall, the great majority respondents who did not mind introducing someone from another ethnic group as a member of their club. However, there was a significant difference between the attitudes of the Malays and the Chinese. Malays were more accepting of the idea than the Chinese. The different perceptions on what is a social club by the different ethnic groups, possibly influence attitudes. In terms of area, table 9.14 describes the responses. Overall, the higher level of integration with respect to item 3 was also reflected in the different areas.

Table 9.14 Introduce as a member in my club by area

Area	Mixed (%)		Malay(%) n=68	Chinese(%) n=43
	Malay n=78	Chinese n=34		
Don't mind	97.4	85.3	100.0	95.3
Reluctant	2.6	14.7	-	4.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square level:0.0147,p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

In terms of social interaction pattern, there was no significance difference at p>0.05 between the attitudes of socialisers and non-socialisers. Both socialisers and non-socialisers did not mind introducing members from other ethnic groups, as a member of their social club. This finding contradicted a 1971 study, where it was found that more than 77% of the socialisers (mixers) did not mind someone from another ethnic group in their organisation compared to 46% non-socialisers (non-mixers) (Rabushka,1971).This may indicate that attitudes have changed in the last quarter of a century.

Compared to sharing an office space or table, having a member from different ethnic group as a neighbour requires a higher degree of tolerance, as one is likely to make more contact on a long term basis with a neighbour than with an office colleague (table 9.15).

Table 9.15 As a neighbour

	Malays(%) n=146	Chinese(%) n=77
Don't mind	67.1	72.7
Reluctant	32.9	27.3
	100.0	100.0

Chi-square level=0.389,p>0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

Compared to item 3, there seemed to be lower a level of integration in terms of having a neighbour from another ethnic group. Only about two thirds of the respondents would consider having a member from another ethnic group as acceptable. However, the attitudes of the Malays and Chinese did not differ significantly. In terms of area, the attitudes of the different ethnic groups is shown in table 9.16.

Table 9.16 As a neighbour by area

	Mixed(%)		Malay (%) n=68	Chinese (%) n=43
	Malay n=78	Chinese n=34		
Don't mind	66.7	70.6	67.6	74.4
Reluctant	33.3	29.4	32.4	25.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square level:0.6828,p>0.05 , Source: Fieldwork,1997

Interestingly, similar attitude was reflected for the different types of housing areas. In all cases, residents in mixed areas did not have different views on this than those in monoethnic areas. Socialisers were more acceptable to the idea of living next to someone from another ethnic group compared with non-socialisers. 88% of them gave a positive response and 36% of the non-socialisers were reluctant to live next to someone from the other ethnic group

compared to 12% of the socialisers. This finding was consistent with the study in 1971 where it was found that more than 60% of the socialisers did not mind living next door to someone from another ethnic group (Rabushka,1971).

9.2.5 Item 5: Leaving the house key to a neighbour of different ethnic group in case of emergency

A house and its possession is considered a valuable asset. Considering that buying a house is an investment for life, it would take a lot of trust to leave a house and its possession in the care of someone in case of an emergency. On this, it was found that more Chinese were reluctant to leave their house keys to a Malay neighbour, compared with the Malays (table 9.17).

Table 9.17 Leaving the house key to a neighbour of different ethnic group

	Malays(%) n=146	Chinese(%) n=77
Don't mind	56.2	28.6
Reluctant	43.8	71.4
	100.0	100.0

Chi-square level=0.00009, p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

Although Malays were more tolerant of the idea of leaving house keys with a Chinese neighbour, the percentage was less for this item, compared with the previous items discussed. Considering that in the past, it was the Malays who considered the Chinese not trustworthy especially in terms of business (Banton and Mansor,1992), it was quite surprising to note that in this case, the Malays tended to trust the Chinese with their house and belongings more than the Chinese trusted them.

In terms of area, both Malays and Chinese in mixed areas, tend to accept the idea of leaving the house keys with a neighbour of another ethnic group as more acceptable than those living in monoethnic areas (table 9.18).

Table 9.18 Leaving house keys to a neighbour of different ethnic group

Area	Mixed(%)		Malay(%) n=68	Chinese(%) n=43
	Malay n=78	Chinese n=34		
Don't mind	67.9	58.8	42.6	4.7
Reluctant	32.1	41.2	57.4	95.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square level: 0.000, p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

It seemed that the idea of having a Malay neighbour was acceptable for the Chinese who resided in Chinese monoethnic areas, but the idea of leaving them the house keys was not acceptable. However, for the Chinese in mixed areas, it seemed that it was quite acceptable to leave the house keys to a Malay neighbour which implied that there was more sense of trust for them compared to the those in monoethnic areas. This attitude was also reflected in the Malays residing in mixed areas compared to the Malays in monoethnic areas.

9.2.6 Item 6 : Leaving your child/children in the care of a neighbour from different ethnic group

If a house is considered valuable, children are even more valuable for most of us. Leaving a child in the care of someone from another ethnic group especially for a Malay has a religious stigma attached to it, especially in terms of food and the presence of dogs. How does this attitude influence different ethnic groups? It was expected that the Malays would be less likely to accept the idea of the children being left in the care of someone from another ethnic group. The difference in attitude is indicated in the responses provided in table 9.19

Table 9.19 Leaving the children in the care of a neighbour from different ethnic group

	Malays(%) n=146	Chinese(%) n=77
Don't mind	34.2	15.6
Reluctant	65.8	84.4
	100.0	100.0

Chi-square level:0.0031,p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

There seems to be low level of integration to leaving children in the care of someone from a different ethnic group by both Malays and Chinese. Even for most of the Chinese, where there was no religious barrier, the idea of leaving the children with someone the another ethnic group seemed unacceptable to most residents (table 9.20).

Table 9.20 Leaving the children in the care of a neighbour from different ethnic group by area

Area	Mixed(%)		Malay(%) n=68	Chinese(%) n=43
	Malay n=78	Chinese n=34		
Don't mind	34.6	20.6	33.8	11.6
Reluctant	65.4	79.4	66.2	88.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square level: 0.0087, p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

However, social interaction patterns influenced the attitudes significantly at p<0.05. Half of the socialisers did not mind leaving their children in the care of someone from another ethnic group, while more than 78% of the non-socialisers were reluctant to do so.

9.2.7 Item 7: Allowing your child to marry someone from another ethnic group

If the prospect of leaving the child in the care of someone from a different ethnic group seemed daunting, the possibility of allowing your child to marry someone from a different ethnic group may seem even more daunting. For

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Malays, non-Muslim partners have to convert to Islam, before being allowed to marry and for the Chinese, the need to change religion, makes the idea of inter-marriage unacceptable because it requires a high degree of understanding, tolerance and acceptance. Although inter-marriages is not forbidden in Islam, it is not very common in Malaysia amongst both Malays and non-Malays. The idea of having to convert, is usually a deterrent. Therefore, it was expected that the level of integration would be low for this variable. Tables 9.21 and 9.22 describe the pattern in detail.

Table 9.21 Allowing your child to marry someone from another ethnic group

	Malays(%) n=146	Chinese(%) n=77
Don't mind	41.8	15.6
Reluctant	58.2	84.4
	100.0	100.0

Chi-square level :0.00007, p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

Overall, the attitude on inter-marriage was still not acceptable to the majority by both ethnic groups. It was surprising to note that Malays seemed to accept the idea of inter-marriage more than the Chinese (table 9.22).

Table 9.22 Allowing your child to marry someone from another ethnic group

	Mixed		Malay (%) n=68	Chinese (%) n=43
	Malay (%) n=78	Chinese (%) n=34		
Don't mind	47.4	20.6	35.3	11.6
Reluctant	52.6	79.4	64.7	88.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square level:0.0074, p<0.05, Source: Fieldwork,1997

It was also found that the attitudes on inter-marriage were not different amongst both socialisers and non-socialisers. Both groups were reluctant to allow their children to marry someone from another ethnic group. Only about a third of the socialisers (35%) and the non-socialisers (32%) found the idea of inter-marriage acceptable.

9.3 Summary of part two

The evidence indicates that, in general, integration level increases with lower level of integrative attitudes. In other words, different ethnic groups were able to accept each other much more in situation which involved less tolerance than in others. This seemed to be the general attitudes of both the Malays and Chinese. Malays also seemed more tolerable of the integrative items, compared with the Chinese. In general, socialisers were found to be more integrated than non-socialisers.The attitudes of the socialisers and non-socialisers on some of the integrative items for this study were not much different from that which was found by Rabushka in his study of the attitudes of the ethnic groups in 1971. In his study, he used the responses to the items eating at the same table, working in the same office, belonging to the same organisation and neighbourhood proximity as indicators of integration.

In both cases, it was found that socialisers were more tolerant and more integrated than non-socialisers. The consistency in the findings between Rabushka's study and the current study seems to indicate that the attitudes have not changed a lot, despite the passage of more than 20 years, at least on the lower end of the integrative attitude scale. The addition of three new integrative statements in the current study will provide additional information of changes in the integrative attitudes for future research.

The findings of this section have also indicated the effect of area on the integration levels. It was found that there were higher levels of integration amongst Chinese residing in mixed areas, compared with Chinese in monoethnic areas, for items leaving the house keys, leaving the children in the care of a neighbour from another ethnic group, and allowing your child to marry someone from another ethnic group (these items required higher level of tolerance). This seems to suggest that living in mixed residential areas have influence their attitudes positively. These attitudes were also found to be

similar for Malays residing in mixed areas, with the exception of integrative item 6.

9.4 Part three - Socioeconomic Factors and Social Integration

This section provides evidence about the relationship of socieconomic background of the respondents to the social integration variables. The socioeconomic indicators discussed are age, educational level, types of employment, income and place of employment. The key points are highlighted and the relevant tables are attached to Appendix E.

9.4.1 Item 1 : Sharing a table with someone from another ethnic group

In general, Malays and Chinese of all age group did not mind sharing a table with someone from another ethnic group (table 9.23). Chinese and Malays of all educational level showed similar attitudes with regard to sharing a table (table 9.24). Overall, the attitude on sharing a table was found to be acceptable by individuals from different types of employment, though for Chinese, those who were reluctant tend to be in the administration/ managerial, clerical and manufacturing types of employment and the Malays in the clerical sector (table 9.25). Table 9.26 shows that there was no significant difference in the attitudes of the Malays but there was a significant different in the attitudes of the Chinese in terms of income. Those who were reluctant to share a table amongst the Malays were those in the lower income bracket income. It was expected that those in the lower income group might have reservations, considering that they might not have a lot of social interaction with those from another ethnic group. However, the small number in the distribution amongst the Chinese who were reluctant made it difficult to form a definite conclusion about the effect of income. In terms of place of employment, the Malays who were reluctant to share a table were those from the government sector although chi-square test showed no statistically significant differences. The reluctance of the Malays in the government sector

to share a table may be explain by their lower chance of inter-ethnic social interaction with other ethnic groups, compared with those working in the private sector (table 9.27).

9.4.2 Item 2: Sharing an office space with someone from another ethnic group

Table 9.28 shows the distribution of responses on the aspect of sharing an office space. In general, there was a significant difference between the attitudes of the Malays and the attitudes of the Chinese in terms of sharing an office space. The Chinese who were reluctant tend to be those who might have just joined the employment sector after graduation from a higher institute of education but for the Malays it seemed to be those who had been in employment for a few years (table 9.29). Table 9.30 also shows that there was no significant difference in terms of types of employment and sharing a table for both Malays and Chinese. Malays and Chinese of all employment types showed similar attitudes in sharing an office space. Table 9.31 shows that there was no statistically significant difference amongst the Malays, but statistically significant difference for the Chinese in terms of income (but the sample number amongst the Chinese make it unsafe to draw too many conclusions). Table 9.32 shows that the attitudes towards sharing office space differed significantly for the Malays, but not for the Chinese in terms of place of employment. Malays in the government sector do not find sharing an office space tolerable but those in the private sector did not mind doing so.

9.4.3 Item 4: As a neighbour

The findings in table 9.33 showed that there was a difference in the attitude about having someone from another ethnic group as a neighbour in terms of age. Chinese who were reluctant to live next door to a Malay tend to be in the age group of 26-30 years. For the Malays, those who were reluctant also tend to fall in the age group of 26-30 years but the difference was not significant. It

seemed that the younger age the group, the lower the level of acceptance to the idea of living in a mixed neighbourhood.

From table 9.34, it was found that educational level was significant for both Malays and Chinese in terms of choosing neighbours. Those with higher levels of education were more reluctant to live next to someone from another ethnic group.

From table 9.35, it shows that the attitudes towards living next to someone from another ethnic group were related to type of employment for both ethnic groups. The findings suggest that the higher respondents were in the employment hierarchy, the less desirable was the idea of living next to someone from another ethnic group. From table 9.36 shows that there was no difference in the attitudes of the Malays in terms of their income but the Chinese of different income groups showed different attitudes and tolerance towards having a Malay as a neighbour decreases as the income increases.

In terms of place of employment, it was found that those who were reluctant to have a Chinese as a neighbour amongst the Malays were those in the government sector (table 9.37). Chinese from different place of employment did not show significantly different attitudes. Overall, those in the private sector minded less having someone from another ethnic group as their neighbour than those in the public sector. Social interaction with members from different ethnic groups at the work place may have influenced their attitudes with regard to who their neighbours should be.

9.4.4 Item 5: Leaving the house keys with a neighbour from another ethnic group

For both ethnic groups, age seemed to be a significant variable in determining attitudes about leaving house keys with a neighbour from another ethnic group (table 9.38). The findings suggests that younger age group find the idea of

leaving the house keys with a neighbour from another ethnic group less acceptable compared to older age groups. This attitude was probably linked to other factors including how well they knew their neighbours, how long they have lived in their neighbourhood, and their tenancy pattern among others. All these factors probably explain why there seemed to be a lack of trust amongst the younger age group compared with the older age group. Other findings showed a significant different in terms of level of education for Malays but not for the Chinese. It seems to suggest that the lower the level of education, the more reluctant the Malays are to leave their house keys with someone from another ethnic group (table 9.39). The Malays in the higher level of education seemed to show greater trust than those in the lower level of education.

Both ethnic groups showed similar attitudes irrespective of their types of employment (table 9.40). In terms of income, the attitudes differed significantly for the Chinese but not for the Malays (table 9.41). Higher income Chinese were less reluctant to leave the house keys than those on lower income. There was also a significant difference in the attitudes about leaving their house keys in terms of their place of employment for the Chinese (table 9.42). It was found that those who were reluctant tend to be employed in the private sector and the self employed. It was quite surprising, since it was expected that those employed in the private sector will have more chance on inter- socialising with other ethnic groups and would feel more trusting to leave their house keys. Although similar findings were found for the Malays, the difference was not significant.

9.4.5 Item 6: Leave children in the care of neighbour from another ethnic group

Age was a significant factor for the Chinese in relation to leaving children in the care of a neighbour from another ethnic group. Younger age group were more reluctant to leave children. Age was not related to Malay attitudes to the

integrative measure (table 9.43). Educational level was not a significant factor in influencing the attitudes of the Malays in terms of leaving the children in the care of neighbours from another ethnic group (table 9.44). Malays irrespective of educational level showed similar attitudes. However, amongst the Chinese the higher their level of education, the less likely that they are to leave their children in the care of someone from another ethnic group. Type of employment was found to be significant for the Malays (table 9.45) but was not significant for the Chinese. Those in professional types of employment were more reluctant to leave their child in the care of someone from other ethnic group, compared with those in other types of employment.

Income also was significant in accounting for the attitudes for both Malays and Chinese. For the Malays, those in the lower income group did not seem to mind leaving their children in the care of their Chinese neighbours, but the higher their income, the less likely they were to allow their Chinese neighbours to take care of their children. This trend was also reflected amongst the Chinese. Possibly parents with a choice will be selective about who should take care of their child but parents on low incomes might not have the choice. The place of employment was not significant in influencing the attitudes of the Chinese but it was significant for the Malays (table 9.47). Malays employed in the government sector showed a higher degree of reluctance compared with those in the private sector.

9.4.6 Item 7 : Allowing your child to marry outside the ethnic group.

There was no significant difference in terms of age with regard to attitudes to inter-marriage for both ethnic groups. Neither was level of education significant in influencing attitudes. Both ethnic groups, irrespective of educational attainment showed similar attitudes towards inter-marriage. Accepting someone from another ethnic group and another religion as a member of one's family was found to be difficult even amongst those who

were highly educated (tables 9.48 and 9.49).Similarly, there are no differences in terms of types of employment (table 9.50).

Income was found to be a significant factor amongst the Chinese but not for the Malays. Chinese who found the idea of inter-marriage acceptable were those in the upper income bracket. The higher the income, the more likely that they will accept someone from another ethnic group as a family member. In contrast, Malays did not show significant difference in their attitudes with regard to income (table 9.51). Finally, place of employment was not found to be significant for both ethnic groups. Whether the Malays or Chinese were employed in the private sector or government sector, it did not influence their attitudes on inter-marriage. This imply that even if inter-racial social interaction does occur at the place of work, it was not significantly related to attitudes towards inter-marriage (table 9.52).

9.5 Summary of part three

The findings in part three seem to suggest that there are relationships between some socioeconomic background and the integrative items. The differences in the socioeconomic background did not influence the atiitudes of Malays and Chinese on items that require low level of tolerance (sharing a table or sharing an office space). However, the some differences in their socioeconomic background influenced their attitudes on certain items. Differences in terms of age, level of education, income, and place of employment were some factors that influenced the attitudes of Malays and Chinese.

9.6 Conclusion

The aim of the chapter was to investigate area and socioeconomic factors connected to the integrative attitudes of Malays and Chinese. Differences in attitudes was measured on a scale of integrative attitudes. The coefficient of

reproducibility showed that the items were scalable and hence can be used to measure the degree of acceptance/tolerance.

The findings showed that there were differences in the attitudes of Malays and Chinese on some of the integrative items. It was found that there were significant differences in the attitudes of Malays and Chinese from integrative items 5 until 7 which was leaving the house keys, leaving the children in the care of neighbour from another ethnic group and allowing your child to marry someone from a different ethnic group. These were items which can be considered as requiring a high degree of tolerance/acceptance.

The findings also highlighted the effect of area on the items discussed above. The effect of area was not significant in items that require lower level of integration like sharing a table, or sharing an office space. However, Malays and Chinese living in mixed areas were found to have a higher level of integration on items that require high degree of tolerance, like leaving the house keys and leaving the children in the care of someone from another ethnic group, compared to those living in monoethnic areas. This seems to indicate that living in mixed areas have influenced the attitudes of Malays and Chinese positively.

The analysis of the socioeconomic background indicates that some differences affect the integrative attitudes. Factors like age, income, level of education and place of employment seemed to affect the attitudes of Malays and Chinese. This will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 10

SOCIAL INTERACTION AND INTEGRATION IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Key Points

The previous chapter has shown that there were statistically significant differences between the Malays and Chinese in their attitudes to social integration and there is some evidence that there are area effects. However, the aim of this chapter is to explore whether the types of area in which they live (mixed or monoethnic) has an effect on the level of social integration taking other factors into account. Other factors that can explain degrees of social integration are hence also investigated. Analysis of variance (ANOVA), which is a statistical method used to compare the population means between groups of population, will be used to analyse the differences of social integration between ethnic groups. The findings suggest that the types of area, socialising pattern, and place of employment are significant in explaining social integration, although the strength of the relationships is weak.

10.0 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to look at the effect of the types of area Malays and Chinese live in as a factor in explaining social integration. The statistical method used to make comparisons between the integration levels of Malays and Chinese residing in different types of residential areas was ANOVA, because it is a technique for assessing how several nominal independent variables affect a continous dependent variable. ANOVA is often viewed as a special case of regression analysis and the ANOVA model can be represented by a regression model (Kleinbaum, et al, 1998). The difference between ANOVA and linear regression analysis is that in ANOVA all the independent

variables must be treated as nominal whereas in regression analysis, any mixture of measurement scales can be used for the independent variables. While ANOVA is used to make comparisons between the means of several population, to determine if the population mean is equal or not, regression analysis can be used to determine which of the independent variables are important and which are not for describing or predicting a dependent variable and to characterise the relationship between the dependent and independent variables, by determining the extent, direction and strength of association.

10.1 Area and ethnicity

What is the effect of the types of area in explaining social integration? What is the effect of ethnicity? It was expected that the types of area will have no effect on the level of social integration between Malays and Chinese. An analysis of variance to compare the means of the two samples and to see the effect of the two variables on social integration was done and the results are presented in Table 10.1 and 10.2.

Table 10.1 Means of integration level by ethnicity and types of area

Ethnicity	Mixed area	Mono ethnic area	Row mean
Chinese	4.26	3.58	3.88
Malays	4.56	4.21	4.40
Column Mean	4.47	3.96	

Sample mean= 4.22,n=223

Table 10.1 shows that both Malays and Chinese in mixed areas showed higher than average means compared to those residing in monoethnic areas. This seems to imply that those living in mixed areas have higher levels of integration than those in monethnic areas. Overall Malays seem to show higher levels of integration than Chinese.

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Table 10.2 shows the area variable was significant, although the effect was small. On the other hand, the ethnicity variable was not found to be significant at the 0.05 level. There was also no ethnicity by area interaction effect. The multiple coefficient of determination (R square) was 0.037 which indicated that only about 4% of the variance in social integration was explained by the variables ethnicity and area.

Table 10.2 ANOVA integration level by ethnicity and types of area

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Sig. Of F
Main	25.535	2	12.768	4.177	0.017
Ethnicity	11.078	1	11.078	3.624	0.058
Area	12.209	1	12.209	3.994	0.047
Ethnicity x area	1.318	1	1.318	0.431	0.512

10.2 Area and socialising pattern

It was expected that socialisers would exhibit higher integration patterns than non-socialisers and that those in mixed areas would show higher level of integration than those in monoethnic areas. Tables 10.3 and 10.4 show the results.

Table 10.3 Means of integration level by socialising pattern and types of area

	Mixed areas	Monoethnic areas	Row mean
Socialisers	5.14	5.15	5.15
Non-socialisers	4.32	3.58	3.97
Column mean	4.47	3.96	

Sample mean= 4.22,n=223

From table 10.3, non-socialisers residing in mixed areas exhibited higher levels of integration than those in monoethnic areas. However, socialisers were not more integrated in mixed areas than monoethnic areas. This may indicate

that area is an important factor in increasing integration amongst non-socialisers. Socialisers in monoethnic and mixed areas showed higher levels of integration compared to non-socialisers in both areas. The two variables related to area and socialising pattern were found to be significant in explaining social integration, as shown in table 10.4. The multiple coefficient of determination (R square) was 0.102 which implied that only 10% of the variation in social integration was explained by the variables socialising pattern and area. Although the independent variables were significant, they were not a strong determinant of the level of integration.

Table 10.4 ANOVA integration level by socialising pattern and types of area

Source	SS	DF	MS	F	Sig. Of F
Main	70.979	2	35.490	12.533	0.000
types of area	14.458	1	14.458	5.106	0.025
socialising pattern	56.521	1	56.521	19.960	0.000
types of area by socialising pattern	5.100	1	5.100	1.801	0.181

10.3 Area, socialising pattern and ethnicity

Table 10.5 shows that Malay and Chinese socialisers in monoethnic areas exhibit higher level of integration than non-socialisers in monoethnic areas. And non-socialisers in mixed areas also show higher levels of integration than non-socialisers in monoethnic areas. This seems to indicate that there is an asssociation between the area effect and the level of integration for non-socialisers but not from socialisers.

Table10.5 Means Integration level by area, ethnicity and social interaction pattern

	Socialisers		Non-socialisers		Row mean
	Malays	Chinese	Malays	Chinese	
Mixed areas	5.17	5.11	4.45	3.96	4.47
Monoethnic areas	5.88	4.09	3.69	3.41	3.96
Column mean	5.57	4.26	4.21	3.58	

sample mean = 4.22, n=223

The multiple coefficient of determination was 0.124 however, which indicates that the relationship between the response and the predictors was weak. Table 10.6 describes the analysis of variance.

Table 10.6 Analysis of variance integration by area, socialising pattern, and ethnicity

Source	SS	DF	MS	F	Sig. Of F
Main	86.098	3	28.699	10.399	0.000
types of area	15.719	1	15.719	5.696	0.018
Socialising pattern	60.562	1	60.562	21.945	0.000
ethnicity	15.119	1	15.119	5.478	0.020
Two way interaction	8.528	3	2.843	1.030	0.380
area by ethnicity	0.727	1	0.727	0.263	0.608
area by socialising pattern	4.522	1	4.522	1.639	0.202
ethnicity by socialising	3.505	1	3.505	1.270	0.261
3 way interaction	8.274	1	8.274	2.998	0.85

10.4 Area, socialising pattern and place of employment

Is place of employment a factor in explaining social integration? It was expected that those employed in the private sector would show higher levels of integration than those in the public sector, because there was likely to be more socialising between ethnic groups in the private sector. Tables 10.7 and 10.8 describe the effect of area and place of employment on the integration pattern.

Table 10.7 Means integration level by types of area and place of employment

	Government	Private	Self-employed	Row mean
Monoethnic areas	3.79	4.11	3.50	3.96
Mixed areas	3.92	4.93	5.00	4.47
Column mean	3.87	4.48	3.71	

Population mean=4.22,n=223

It was found that those employed in the private sectors and the self-employed in the mixed areas show a higher level of integration than those in the monoethnic areas. The table indicates that those employed in the government sector show a lower level of integration than those in the other sectors of employment. The low proportion of workers from other ethnic groups in the government sector probably explains the low level of integration. There was also a significant area and place of employment effect as shown in table 10.8. However, these effects are independent of each other.

Table 10.8 ANOVA integration level by area and place of employment

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Sig. Of F
Main	41.171	3	13.724	4.594	0.04
types of area	18.998	1	18.998	6.360	0.012
Place of employment	26.713	2	13.356	4.471	0.013
Types of area by place of employment	6.835	2	3.417	1.144	0.320

What table 10.8 seems to imply is that a person who lives in a mixed area and is employed in the private sector will be more likely to show a higher level of integration than those in the public sector. The higher level of integration showed by the self-employed group was probably reflected in the kind of jobs, like shop keepers and tailors which provides a bigger chances of socialising with other ethnic groups in day to day activities. The multiple coefficient of determination indicated however that the effect was weak. (R square=0.059).

An analysis of the three way effect of area, ethnicity and place of employment indicates that Chinese in mixed areas who were working in the private sectors (4.63) and those self employed (5.00) had a higher level of integration than Chinese who were employed in the public sector (3.59). On the other hand, Chinese in monoethnic areas (4.50) who were employed in the government sectors showed higher level of integration compared to Chinese who were employed in other sectors. This seems to indicate that Chinese who worked with other ethnic groups in the public sector, although residing in monoethnic areas showed higher than average levels of integration.

The Malays who resided in monoethnic and mixed areas but were employed in the private sector showed higher level of integration (4.52 and 5.05 respectively) than Malays who were employed in the public sector. This seems to imply that the private sector provides an avenue for integration by the Malays, and the government sector for the Chinese. Table 10.9 provides the details of the analysis of variance.

Table 10.9 ANOVA   Integration level by area, ethnicity and place of employment

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Sig. Of F
Main effects	53.902	4	13.475	4.567	0.001
types of area	18.329	1	18.329	6.212	0.013
Place of employment	28.366	2	14.138	4.807	0.009
ethnicity	12.731	1	12.731	4.315	0.039
2 way interaction	12.092	5	2.418	0.820	0.537
area x place of employment	4.802	2	2.401	0.814	0.445
area x ethnicity	0.226	1	0.226	0.077	0.782
ethnicity x place of employment	5.356	2	2.678	0.908	0.405
3 way interaction	4.723	1	4.723	1.601	0.207
area x place x ethnicity	4.723	1	4.723	1.601	0.207

10.5 Area, socialising pattern, and income

Income group is associated with social class. It was expected that income would be a factor in explaining social integration. The analysis of variance shows that there is a significant difference at p<0.05 for the three variables socialising pattern, ethnicity and income group, but not significant for area. In general, low and middle income earners exhibited higher integration pattern than those in the higher income group and those in mixed areas exhibited similar patterns. It was found that low income (earning less than RM 1000) Malays (means 6.50) and Chinese (means 5.00) residing in mixed areas exhibited higher level of integration than those residing in monoethnic areas. This finding was also similar or Malays (means 4.55) and Chinese (means 4.73) in the middle income groups (earning between RM1000-3000), who

4.73) in the middle income groups (earning between RM1000-3000), who lived in mixed areas. Amongst the high income group (earning above RM3000), it was found that only the Malays (means 5.00) living in the monoethnic areas were found to show high levels of integration.

However, there seemed to be a significant two way interaction effect. The presence of interaction effects indicates that the effects of the independent variables were not additive. This implies that the effect on the level of integration is different for different income groups, socialising patterns and types of area.

Table 10.10 ANOVA integration level by area, socialising pattern, ethnicity and income

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Sig. Of F
Main effects	95.606	5	19.121	7.427	0.000
types of area	9.508	2	4.754	1.846	0.160
income	59.931	1	59.931	23.277	0.000
ethnicity	13.697	1	13.697	5.320	0.022
socialising pattern	21.202	1	21.202	8.235	0.005
Two way interaction	65.090	9	7.232	2.809	0.004
income by socialising pattern	25.782	2	12.891	5.007	0.008
Income by ethnicity	14.082	2	7.041	2.735	0.067
Income by area	20.755	1	10.377	4.031	0.019
socialising by ethnicity	2.540	1	2.540	0.986	0.322
socialising by area	2.059	1	2.059	0.800	0.372
Ethnicity by area	4.093	1	4.093	1.590	0.209

10.6 Area, socialising pattern, and types of employment

Overall, it was found that those in the sales sector of employment (means 5.44) showed higher integration patterns than those employed in other sectors. In terms of area, those in the other sectors of employment like professional/ technical, services, and clerical, who lived in the mixed areas showed higher levels of integration (means 4.47) than the other sectors in the same area.

In the homogenous areas, it was those employed in the sales sector who showed higher levels of integration (means 5.44). The nature of the employment which involves meeting and socialising with people probably contributes to the attitude. Both Malays and Chinese involved in this sector of employment showed similar attitudes. All three variables, which were area, ethnicity and types of employment showed significant differences at $p<0.05$. In terms of socialising pattern, Malay non-socialisers in mixed areas exhibited higher level of integration than others in the same area.This seemed to imply that despite not socialising, living in mixed environment was associated with more integration amongst the Malays. Non-socialisers in homogenous areas of both ethnic groups showed low level of integration. On the other hand, Chinese socialisers in the homogenous areas showed low level of integration (means 4.09). Overall, socialisers of both ethnic groups in mixed areas showed high level of integration. The coefficient of determination was 0.148 which indicated that the relationship between the response (integration) and the predictor variables (independent) above was not strong.

Table 10.11 ANOVA integration level by ethnicity, area, socialising pattern and types of employment.

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Sig. Of F
Main effects	102.73 3	5	20.545	7.512	0.000
types of area	18.490	1	18.490	6.760	0.010
ethnicity	18.200	1	18.200	6.654	0.011
socialising pattern	48.781	1	48.781	17.835	0.000
types of employment	16.625	2	8.313	3.309	0.050

10.7 Area , socialising pattern and educational level

Educational level is another variable that can explain integration. It was expected that those highly educated would demonstrate higher integration. It was found that there was no significant ethnicity, educational level and types of area main effects. There was a significant two way interaction effect which indicated that the educational level variable did not work independently with other variables in its effect on social integration. The presence of an interaction effect seems to indicate that the effect on the level of integration is different for groups with different educational attainment, ethnicity and types of areas. The difference is shown in table 10.12 and the ANOVA results are shown in table 10.13. It was found that Malays who had secondary and diploma level of education residing in mixed areas were more integrated than Malays who had a degree residing in the same type of area. Amongst the Chinese, it was the low educated group residing in monoethnic areas who were more integrated than the Chinese in other types of area.

Table 10.12 Means integration level by area, ethnicity and educational level

	Mixed areas		Mono ethnic areas		Row mean
	Malays	Chinese	Malays	Chinese	
Secondary level of education	4.33	0.00	3.70	4.50	3.93
Diploma level of education	4.95	5.33	3.94	3.61	4.33
Degree level of education	4.17	4.04	5.57	3.14	4.18
Column mean	4.56	4.26	4.21	3.58	

sample mean=4.22,n=223

Table 10.13 ANOVA for Integration level by area ,ethnicity and level of education

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Sig. Of F
Main effects	28.166	4	7.041	2.455	0.047
types of area	10.321	1	10.321	3.598	0.059
ethnicity	9.611	1	9.611	3.351	0.069
educational level	2.631	2	1.315	0.459	0.633
2 way interactions	54.704	5	10.941	3.815	0.002
area by ethnicity	22.225	1	22.225	7.749	0.006
area by educational level	35.172	2	17.586	6.131	0.003
ethnicity by educational level	28.894	2	14.447	5.037	0.007

10.8 Area, socialising pattern and contact at neighbourhood

It was expected that those who established contact with their neighbours (communicated with the neighbours regularly) would show higher levels of integration, compared to those who did not have any contact with their neighbours at all. Based on the analysis of variance, it was found that there was no significant interaction effects of contact at neigbourhood on social integration levels at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10.14 ANOVA integration by socialising pattern and contact at neighbourhood

Source	SS	DF	MS	F	Sig. Of F
Main	25.579	3	8.526	2.860	0.038
types of area	11.214	1	11.214	3.762	0.054
ethnicity	11.103	1	11.103	3.725	0.055
contact with neighbour	0.044	1	0.044	0.015	0.904
2 way interaction	4.088	3	4.088	0.457	0.713
area by ethnicity	2.404	1	2.404	0.807	0.370
area by contact	0.657	1	0.657	0.220	0.639
ethnicity by contact	2.471	1	2.471	0.829	0.364

10.9 The effect of gender and age

Although the focus of the research was on the effect of area on the patterns of social interaction and levels of integration between Malays and Chinese, it was discovered that ethnic groups from different age exhibited different social interaction patterns and levels of integration. This was highlighted in the findings from chapter 9 which showed that these factors influences responses on integrative attitudes. The selection of head of households as the respondents limited the number of female respondents selected. However, the findings did show that there were gender and age effects in the levels of integration. The effect of ethnicity and socialising pattern was different for the different ethnic groups, when age and gender was taken into consideration. The details of the ANOVA are provided in Appendix F. Chinese males showed a higher degree of integration than Chinese females and the opposite occurs with the Malays. Malay females showed higher level of integration than Malay males. While this finding may not seem plausible, it is more likely to be the factor of an individual's personality given the small number of Malay female respondents (6 respondents). The age factor also showed a reverse integration pattern where older Chinese seemed more integrated than younger Chinese and vice-versa for the Malays. When the area factor was taken into consideration, it was discovered that Chinese males in mixed areas exhibited higher integration level than Chinese in other areas. Malay females in mixed and monoethnic areas exhibited higher level of integration than Malay males in monoethnic areas. In terms of age, the Malays in the younger age group (below 35 years) in mixed and monoethnic areas showed higher integration levels than the Chinese, but the Chinese in the older age group (above 36 years) from mixed and monoethnic areas showed higher level of integration than Malays in the same age group. Only Malays in the older age group living in monoethnic areas showed lower level of integration.

10.10 Summary

Malays showed higher level of integration than Chinese. Malays and Chinese in mixed areas showed higher level of integration than those residing in monoethnic areas. The effect of area was significant although it was not a strong determinant in explaining levels of integration. The effect of area on the level of integration was not the same for both ethnic groups with different educational levels and income groups. This implies that policies on ethnic mix in residential areas will have to take into consideration educational and income groups. The findings suggest that Malays and Chinese from low to middle income and those with lower level of educational attainment show higher level of integration, compared with those who were highly educated, especially amongst the Chinese in monoethnic areas. Chinese non-socialisers in mixed areas showed high levels of integration compared to those in monoethnic areas. This indicates that despite not socialising with other ethnic groups, living in mixed areas has influenced their attitudes towards other ethnic groups positively. Therefore, for those in the low income group with low educational attainment and do not socialised elsewhere, residential mix will probably be the key to achieving higher levels of integration.

10.11 Regression Analysis

It was found that types of area was significant in explaining social integration in relation to three variables (ethnicity, education, and income) in the analysis of variance although the effect was not strong. Therefore, regression analysis (which is also another form of a linear model) will be used to determine which independent variables can be used to predict social integration. The model consisted of one dependent model (social integration) and 13 independent variables (including dummy variables). The variables selected were those that can be grouped into socioecomic status (income, educational level), employment characteristics (place of employment,types of employment,

proportion of Malay and Chinese employees), household characteristics (ethnicity, age, socialising pattern) and neighbourhood characteristics (types of area and contact at neighbourhood).

The linear regression form:

Y (predicted social integration) = a + B1(areamx) + B2 (ethnic1) + B3 (mixers) + B4 (nepage) +B5 (incomeL) B6 (incomeM) B7 (incomeH) + B8 (nwemply) + B9 (placemp) + B10 (prom1) + B11 (proc1) + B12 (ntknbr) + B13 (educate) + error

where a = constant

areamx = types of area (mixed and homogenous)

ethnic1= ethnicity (Malays and Chinese)

mixers = socialising pattern (socialisers and non-socialisers)

nepage = age group (35 and below and 36 and above)

incomeL = low income group

incomeM = middle income group

incomeH = high income group

nwemply = types of employment (labour, other employment categories)

placemp = place of employment (government, private)

prom1 = proportion of Malay employees

proc1 = proportion of Chinese employees

ntknbr = contact at neighbourhood

educate = educational level

10.11.1 The Results

The regression output is shown in Appendix G. Forward stepwise method was used to eliminate variables which would not have any effect on the dependent variable. It was found that the variables having an effect on social integration were the types of area (areamx), their ethnicity (ethnic1), socialising pattern (mixers),place of employment (placemp) and proportion of Malay employees (prom1). The adjusted multiple coefficient of determination (R square) for the

multiple regression equation was 0.172 implying that only 17% of the variance in the dependent variable social integration was explained by the five variables in the equation. The F ratio was 9.94 and significant at p<0.000. The greatest impact on social integration was the variable socialising pattern (mixers - standardised regression coeffeicient Beta 0.298) and the types of area was the smallest (Beta 0.150). This finding supported the earlier findings in ANOVA which indicated that the types of area was significant in explaining social integration although the effect was not very large.

10.12 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to investigate the effect of area on social integration. As described above, the type of area was found to be significant in the analysis of variance and the regression analysis model, although it only explained 19% of the variance in the dependent variable. Compared to the socialising pattern, the impact of area was small. This indicates that the types of area only made a small contribution to explaining integration levels. Other factors, like the place of employment and socialising pattern also contributed towards the level of integration between ethnic groups.

The findings also suggested that in general, the higher the level of social interaction, the higher the level of integration. Malays were more integrated than Chinese. The socialising patterns also influenced the level of integration. It was found that Malays and Chinese who socialised with other ethnic groups exhibited higher level of integration than Malays and Chinese who did not. This finding was consistent with earlier findings by Rabushka (1971) in his study of the attitudes of the different ethnic groups before the launch of the New Economic Policy. Therefore, mutual social interaction among individuals influences group cohesiveness.

The low level of integration of the Chinese should be understood within the context of the diversity of ethnic groups within the Chinese communities themselves. Amongst the broad Chinese ethnic group, there exist different dialect groups representing the different regions from they came. Although they appear to be a solid group to the outsider, there were considerable divisions amongst themselves. Although the questions aimed to solicit responses regarding differences between Malays and Chinese, non-quantifiable factors like personal experiences and individual personality may affect responses. Considering that the factors which had been identified only explained 17% of the variability in the level of integration, these non-quantifiable factors may be the dominant factors affecting social interaction patterns and levels of integration.

Malays showed a higher level of integration because there was more opportunity for them to socialise with other ethnic groups in the city through the opportunities which was opened up for them via the New Economic Policy. Forming a little more than a third of the city's population, there was a higher chance of Malay-Chinese social interaction than Chinese-Malay social interaction.

Income and types of employment did not came out as significant variables in the regression analysis although the effect was significant in the ANOVA. The income factor was not significant probably because a large proportion of the sample can be considered as of similar income group. The selection of the residential types eliminated the inclusion of low income groups who resided mostly in public low cost housing.

The place of employment was found to be significant and the private sector employment was found to be most associated with social integration. The proportion of Malays and Chinese employees were also important variables. Where there were more Chinese employees, the integration level was low and the level of integration increases as the number of Malay employees increases.

Therefore, it can be concluded that when there is a balanced ethnic mix at the work place, it can be expected that levels of integration will be higher. The level of integration was low amongst employees in the government sector compared with the private sector, because there were predominantly Malay employees. Too many of one ethnic group may not be conducive to social integration.The private sector, where there was probably more inter-socialising between the ethnic groups, provided a base for integration to be developed. The public sector may have to consider opening up opportunities for a wider mixture of ethnic groups in order to facilitate social integration.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

Key Points

The research was conducted to investigate if there are any differences in the form and nature of social relationships between Malays and Chinese residing in different types of area. The findings suggest that while there is an area effect influencing the social interaction and integration patterns between ethnic groups, it is not the only factor. Other factors like the place of employment and socialising patterns also contribute towards promoting more social integration. The research had also brought into focus age and gender differences in social relationships. This will provide an avenue for future research about relationships between Malays and Chinese in Malaysia.

11.0 Introduction

When the research was started in 1995/1996, the aim was to establish if residential mix was thought of by policy makers as a way to foster better social relationships between different groups of people and also to establish if people residing in different types of housing areas exhibited different patterns of social interaction and integration. The hypothesis for the research was that there was no significant difference in the social interaction patterns and levels of integration between Malays and Chinese residing in different types of areas.

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 showed much of the research on housing and race concentrates on the problems of housing segregation, but rarely on residential integration. With a few exceptions like Nyden et. al (1996) and

Saltman (1990), integrated places were generally regarded as special and uncommon places, whose existence swam against the tide of urban development processes. We have very limited understanding of the extent to which integrated places occur within the more general urban landscape, the conditions under which they exist and the forces that help to maintain them (Smith,1998). Therefore, this study is an important indicator of the patterns of social interaction and level of integration between Malays and Chinese residing in different types of residential areas.

11.1 Summary of findings

The study was done in selected residential areas that fulfiled the criteria of being mixed and homogenous in Kuala Lumpur, the city where there was strong evidence of ethnic residential segregation. The socioeconomic characteristics of the sample were different from the population due to the process of selecting the sample and therefore cannot be said to representative of the population of the city. However, the findings can be considered as early indicators of the form and nature of social relationship between Malays and Chinese in urban areas.

In chapter three, several research questions were posed. This section will provide a summary of the findings based on the research questions. The first question was what is the form of social relationship between Malays and Chinese residing in different types of areas? The study highlighted the effects of area in influencing social interaction patterns and levels of integration between Malays and Chinese. In general, although Malays were found to be more integrated than Chinese,. living in mixed areas had brought positive changes in the attitudes of the Chinese, for example in terms of participation in organisations and socialising outside the domestic sphere.

The study did not show negative or unfavourable attitides between Malays and Chinese residing in the different types of areas, as there were only a small percentage of total negative responses to the integrative attitude items. Therefore, while the policy of ethnic mix showed positive results in establishing social relationships between ethnic groups residing in different types of areas, it did not indicate that monoethnic areas showed strong negative attitudes or hostility towards other groups. This seems to imply that monoethnic areas were not potential areas of 'social conflict' and mixed areas were not necessarily areas of 'social harmony'.

On the differences in the form of social interaction patterns and levels of integration between Malays and Chinese residing in different types of areas, it was found that those who lived in mixed areas showed higher levels of interaction and integration than those who lived in monoethnic areas. However, the study had also shown than there were more non-socialisers than socialisers amongst the Malays and Chinese in the sample. This seems to imply that a majority of Malays and Chinese still socialise within their own ethnic groups.

The analysis of variance and regression model highlighted several factors that can explain the levels of social integration. There was evidence to suggest that there were differences in age and gender in the form of social relationships between Malays and Chinese in the ANOVA. The older age group, that is, those who can be considered as the pre New Economic Policy group, were generally more integrated than the younger age group, that is, those who were brought up during the period of New Economic Policy. Males were generally more integrated than females, though there were differences between the attitudes of the Malays and Chinese females.

Socioeconomic factors like the level of education and income groups were also found to be important in explaining social integration patterns.The levels of

integration were found to be higher amongst the ethnic groups with lower socioeconomic status. It was surprising, though, that amongst the Chinese, those with higher educational attainment were found to be less integrated than those with lower educational attainment. This may be explained by the fact that they were the ones most affected by the implementation of the New Economic Policy which favoured the Malays of similar socioeconomic status. Being discriminated in educational and employment opportunities had influenced their attitudes towards the Malays. However, it was also found that where there were mixed working environments, the levels of social interaction and integration was higher. Malays and Chinese working in mixed environment were found to be more integrated than those who worked in monoethnic environment. The place of employment factor was found to be a significant factor in explaining social integration because the subjects of the research were the head of households which were mostly male. Therefore, socieconomic factors like educational level, and income groups were more important in explaining social integration levels than ethnicity.

The policy on mixing ethnic groups at the domestic and work spheres seems to have an effect on the social interaction patterns and levels of integration. Those who lived in mixed areas were found to be better integrated than those who lived in monoethnic areas. Socialisers were also found to be better integrated than non-socialisers. Chinese non-socialisers in mixed areas were also found to be more integrated than non-socialisers in monoethnic areas. These findings are generally consistent with the earlier findings by Rabushka in his study of a pre-NEP sample where he found that mixers (socialisers) were better integrated than non-mixers (non-socialisers). Rabushka's findings suggested that Chinese non-mixers (non-socialisers) in monoethnic areas were found to be better integrated than non-mixers (non-socialisers) in mixed areas but this was not the case for this study. The difference could be because of the situation at that time (pre-NEP) or the sampling method used. The current study implies that interpersonal contact has a favourable and positive impact on social relationships, as put forward by Park.

Despite the possible sources of conflict between ethnic groups as discussed in Chapter 3, living within a mixed environment has marginally increase the level of integration between Malays and Chinese. Greater social interaction has also contributed to higher levels of integration.

11. 2 Policy Implications

Finally, what are the implications of ethnic mix as future policies for the local authorities in the country? The rationale for residential and ethnic mix policy in the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan was to develop residential areas where different ethnic groups and social classes can socialise and foster better social relationships. The 30% quota for Bumiputera in residential areas has indirectly created residential areas where there was representation of all ethnic groups in residential areas.Although there was no clear strategy of implementing the ethnic mix policy, the findings suggested that the policy works for certain socioeconomic groups.

The differences in the social interaction patterns and levels of integration between Malays and Chinese residing in mixed areas and monoethnic areas indicate that there was an area effect that has influenced the attitudes of Malays and Chinese. However, the findings showed that the area effect was not the same for ethnic groups from different income groups and educational levels. Hence, 'class' elements came into focus. It seems that the levels of integration were higher for Malays and Chinese who were in the low to middle income group, compared with the high income group.

The effect of area was also different for groups with different educational attainment. Malays and Chinese from the secondary to diploma level of education were found to be more integrated than those from the highly

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educated group. Therefore, higher levels of integration can be expected in low and middle income housing areas which are ethnically mix (low and middle 'class') compared to high income areas. In terms of future housing policies, ethnic mix should be given serious consideration for the low to middle social economic groups, if national integration is to be achieved.

The area effect also has policy implications on other sectors like education and employment. Mixed residential areas will indirectly create mixed schools if the parents send their children to the schools in local neighbourhoods. While there has been no study on the effects of ethnic mix in schools on the educational achievements of the students in Malaysia, it cannot be said that mixed schools will not enhance better social interaction between the different ethnic groups. Schools can play an important role in promoting national integration, not just by teaching about national integration, also by being the places where integration occur between the different ethnic groups. The effects of mixed schools on educational achievements and national integration should be studied as these have policy implications in education in the future.

The place of employment is another avenue of inter-ethnic social interaction which can facilitate the process of integration. Opportunities for inter-socialising in economic spheres had shown to be succesful in fostering social relationship at the domestic sphere. The mass Malays and Chinese who have the opportunity to socialise at workplaces, may be less hesitant to live in mixed residential areas. Therefore, more effort to increase the level of social interaction in formal and informal activities between ethnic groups should be done. It seems that the Government's effort in encouraging the partnership between Malays and Chinese in economic spheres has an effect on social interaction patterns and levels of integration at the domestic spheres. This mean that employment opportunities in government sectors should be open to other ethnic groups (equal opportunity). While not dismissing the conditions of the Special Malay Rights in the Constitution with regard to employment quota for the Bumiputera, it is time that all sectors of the employment should

have a balance representation of all ethnic groups if national integration is the ultimate goal of the country. Since Bumiputera have achieved significant proportion in most sectors of the employment, preferential treatment policy in employment should be restricted to only sectors where Bumiputera representation are lacking.

11.3 Limitations of the study

Studies of ethnic relations (especially between Malays and Chinese) are very few and those that looked into social interaction were even more difficult to find. Departing from an earlier study on the attitudes of Chinese and Malays by Rabushka in 1969, this is the first study of the same kind carried out after New Economic Policy was implemented. The study has also brought into the forefront of research the differences that existed between the attitudes of the Malays and Chinese.

The study was limited by the fact that in-depth interviews of the respondents to support the quantitative data were not done, due to time and financial constraints. Hence, this simplified look at ethnic relationship between Malays and Chinese can be considered as just 'scratching the surface' of a monumental iceberg within the framework of ethnic relationship. Establishing ethnic relationships required more than just homogeneity in terms of quantifiable items. Many unquantifiable items and intrinsic factors like personality, personal experiences of oneself and even the family will have an effect on ethnic relationships.

11.4 Future Research

The research had highlighted the effect of area on the integration variables. However, the Guttman scale that was used was not detailed enough to pick out

the differences between integrative attitudes at neighbourhoods and attitudes at workplace. Therefore, it will be more effective to create different scales to measure integration levels within the different spheres (domestic and workplace) in the future. This will provide a more extensive analysis of the levels of integration between the different groups residing in different residential areas and working in different environments.

Secondly, the research has suggested that there are differences in the social integration patterns in terms of gender and age. Ethnic groups of different genders and different ages exhibited different levels of integration. In order to provide plausible explanations for the differences, a specific study looking into these aspects and its effect on social integration needs to be conducted.

The implementation of the ethnic and residential mix policies was not without cost. Who will bear the cost of development in the process of implementing the quota system for Bumiputera and the low cost housing - the house buyers (with the minimum specification and lower quality finishing), the government, the middle and high income groups, the developers or the landowners? What will be the effect of the conventional housing market had the quota for Bumiputera and low cost not been imposed by the government? Would mixed areas have occured as part of naturally occuring processes or would the city become as polarised as it was before? These are some of the questions that still need answers.

Finally, ethnic relationships are dynamic. They occur within a spatial context influenced by current events and situations. As a country that puts national integration as the basis of its national plan, it is appropriate that periodical systematic monitoring of the social relationships between ethnic groups be conducted. This will form a basis for the formulation of social policy taking into consideration the current political and economic climate.

As stated previously in chapter 5, the research was undertaken during a situation when the country was facing environmental problems and was just beginning to feel the impact of the economic slow down. However, the findings do seem to indicate that relationships between ethnic groups at the time of the research was not badly affected by the problems faced by the country. However, recent political and economic developments faced by the country might have a different effect on the relationship between ethnic groups. The political scenario of the country is currently showing a 'wind of change'. Previously, Malaysians were known to be acquiescence, never criticising the Government's policies and hardly vocal in voicing their concerns. Any discontentment was kept hidden, more so on ethnic issues. However, the sacking of Deputy Prime Minister Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim, has brought the people together as Malaysians fighting for justice for all, irrespective of ethnic groups. To what extent has the current political scenario influence social relationships between ethnic groups in the future? That is why a system of monitoring social relationships between ethnic groups is important.

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Appendix A

Index of Dissimilarity

Districts	Index of Dissimilarity	Level
1	25	Low
2	38	Moderate
3	2	Low
4	46#	Moderate
5	59	Moderate
6	21	Low
7	32#	Low
8	57	Moderate
9	53#	Moderate
10	18	Low
11	36#	Moderate
12	17	Low
13	50	Moderate
14	72	High
15	4	Low
16	37	Moderate
17	18	Low
18	28	Low
19	3	Low
20	26	Low
21	70	High
22	22	Low
23	35	Moderate
24	20	Low

Index of Dissimilarity
0 -32 Low Level of Segregation (0 - no segregation)
Between 33 to 65 - Moderate Level of Segregation
66- 100 High level approaching total segregation

Areas not selected because it is the town centre
Areas selected for homogenous areas - index of above 33
Areas selected for mixed - index of 10 and below

(The index of dissimilarity used was based on Lieberson,1963)

Computation: $D = 100 \, (1/2 \quad I \, xi - yi \, I)$

where xi = the percent of Chinese population residing in district i
       yi = the percent of Malay population residing in district i
D = the index of dissimilarity or one-half the sum of the absolute differences (positive or negative) between the spatial distribution of Chinese population and Malay population

Appendix B

K.Lumpur: Selected Clusters
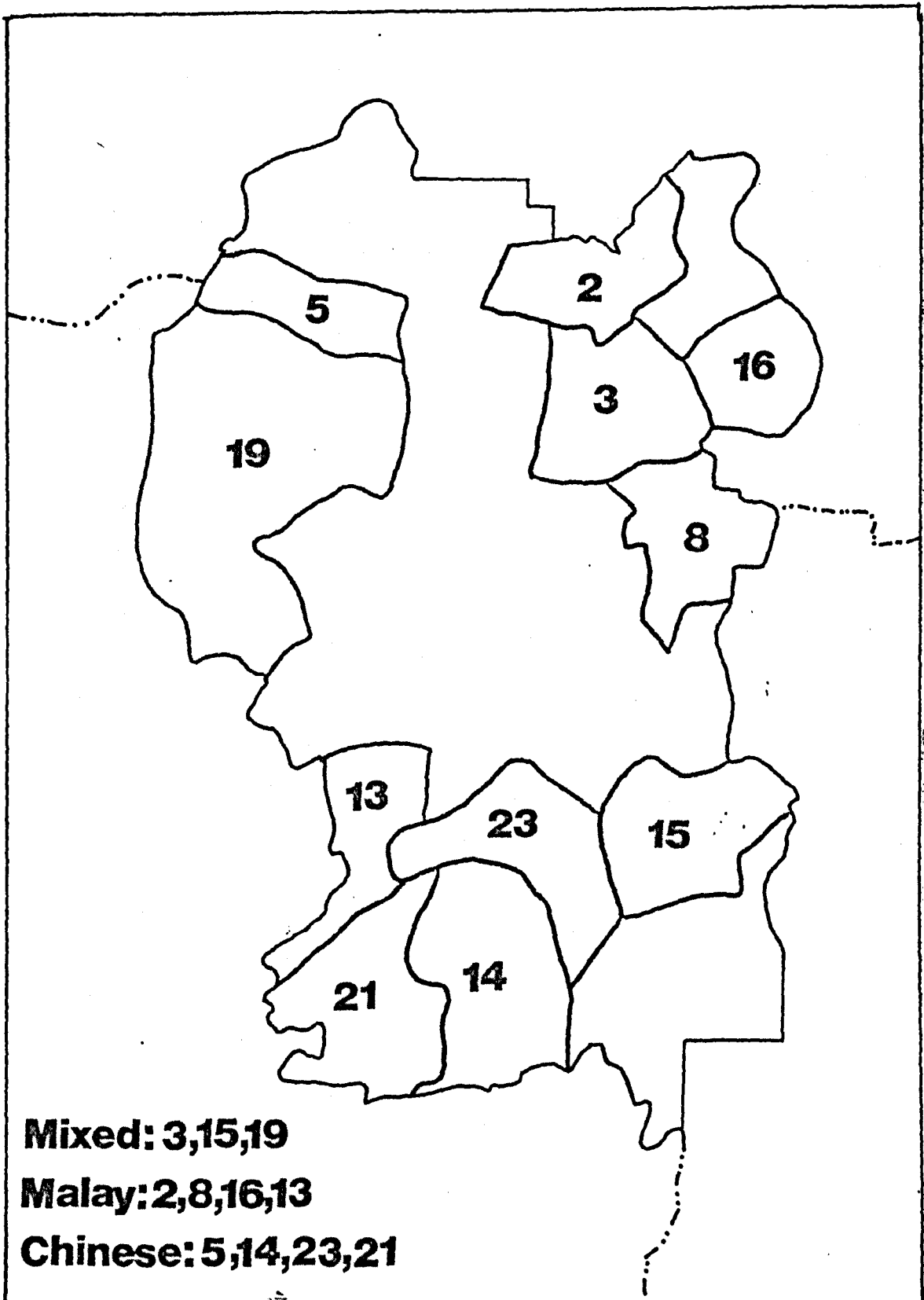
Mixed: 3,15,19
Malay: 2,8,16,13
Chinese: 5,14,23,21

Appendix C

Good morning/afternoon. I am an interviewer for Dept. of Social Development Studies,Universiti Pertanian Malaysia. We are carrying a study to investigate general opinions on certain issues with regards to development of residential areas.You have been selected on a random basis and all answers that is given will be confidential. Your answers will only be used statistically and it will not reflect the individuals who have answered them. I would be very grateful if you can spend some time to answer the questionnaire.

Date:_____

Enumerator:_____

No. of visits: 1/2/3/4/5

Area code: HC/HM/MX

Questionnaire no:

Type of residential area: LCT/MCT/SD/D

Name of residential area: _____

No. of households in this address:_____

No.of households selected at this address:_____

Total no. of persons in this household: _____

No. of persons interviewed: _____

Respondent to household schedule: No:_____

I would be very grateful if you can provide me with some background information about the people who is currently living in this house:

No.	Age	Sex M/F	Ethnic M/C	Marital status	Relation ship to HH	Educa-tional level	Employ-ment FT/PT/ Un-employed / retired

SECTION A

Residential Background Information:

1. When did you move to this neighbourhood?

(Year)_____

2. How long have you lived in this house?

a.Less than a year

b.1-4 years

c.5-8 years

d.9 years or more

3. Where did you live before you live here (in this house)? Please state (name of residential area, town, state)

4.Why did you move?

-

5. Here are some reasons people give for picking a particular area to live in. Which of these reasons were important to you (and your family) in deciding to live here? Tick as many as apply.

1. Being near relatives	
2. Being near friends	
3. It has good facilities to bring up children	
4. Near my workplace	
5. Near my spouse's work place	
6.Reputation of neighbourhood	
7. Background of neighbours	
8. Within my affordibility	
9. Facilities	

6.How would you rate this neighbourhood on a scale of 1 (very unsatisfactory)

   to   5(very satisfactory) on the aspects below?

Safe against theft   1 2 3 4 5

Safe from traffic   1 2 3 4 5

Playground facilities for children   1 2 3 4 5

Location of school   1 2 3 4 5

Shops and services   1 2 3 4 5

Neighbourhood community spirit   1 2 3 4 5

7. Do you _____ this house?

a. Own

b. Rent

Employment

1. Can you briely describe your occupation.

_____

2. Where are you working?

a.Government Department

b.Private Agency (Go to Question 3)

c.Self employed

3. If private agency, how many employees worked in the establishment?

a. 1-3 workers

b. 4-6 workers

c. 7-9 workers

d. more than 10 workers

4.Would you please tell me what ethnic group your boss/head of department/immediate superior is?

a.Malay

b.Chinese

c.Indian

d.Others

5. Would you please tell me what proportion of your office colleagues/people you work with are------------

Malays	Chinese	Indians	Others

a.All (100%)

b.more than 75%

c.between 50-74%

d.between 25-49%

e. less than 25%

f. none

7. Other than the regular job, do you have a part-time job?

a. Yes

b. No

8. If yes, what kind of jobs do you do after your working hours or during the weekends?

-

Participation in Activities

1. Does this neighbourhood has the listed organisations? (Show list)

	Yes	No	DK
Neighbourhood Watch (Rukun Tetangga)			
Parents Teachers Association			
Jiran wanita (Women's Neighbourhood Organisation)			
Local Religious (Mosque/ Temple) Committee			
Residents Association			
Neighbourhood Association			

2. Are you a member of any of the organisations above?

a. Yes

b. No

3. If yes, please state organisation and post held

Organisation	Post

4. Are you a member of any organisations/committees (non-political) at workplace/ district/state/national level? (eg. Red Crescent, Charity or Welfare Organisations, Professional organisations,Sports Organisations, Social Clubs)

a. Yes

b. No

5. If yes, can you list all the associations and the post held.

Organisation	Post held

PART B -Interaction- integration pattern

1.Outside your immediate family, would you say that your current friends are

a.mostly Malays

b.mostly Chinese

c. mostly Indians

d.mixed (probe for combination)

2.Can you name your neighbours living in your street?

a.All of them (100%)

b.more than 75%

c.between 50-74%

d. between 25-49%

e.less than 25%

f. none

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3.Do you visit your Malay/Chinese friends during Hariraya/Chinese New Year?

a.Every year

b.Sometimes

c.Rarely

d.Never

4.Do you have relatives in this neighbourhood?

a.Yes

b.No

c.Don't know

5.If yes, how often do you visit them?

a.Always

b.Sometimes

c.Rarely

d.Never

6. Do you have friends of other ethnic groups living in this neighbourhood?

a.Yes

b.No

c. Don't know

7. If yes, how often do you visit them?

a.Always

b.Sometimes

c.Rarely

d.never

8.Do you have friends of same ethnic groups living in this neighbourhood?

a.Yes

b.No

c.Don't know

9.If yes, how often do you visit them?

a.Always

b.Sometimes

c.Rarely

d.never

10.For many people, life is so hectic nowadays that they often cannot remember small details from one week to the next. However, can you recall the people that you have met the past week.

10i.Did anyone come to your house to visit you the past week?

a.Yes

b.No

If yes, can you recall who they are, purpose of their visit(social/work related) and where do they live?

Relationship	Ethnic group	Reason for visit	Place of residence

10ii. Did you visit any of your friends, relatives, neighbours the past week?

a.Yes

b.No

If yes, can you recall who you visited, where did you go and what was the purpose of the visit?

Relationship	Ethnic group	Reason for visit	Place of residence

11.. At the workplace, who do you normally(at least 3 times a week) eat lunch with?

a. Your spouse

b. a Malay colleague

c. a Chinese colleague

d. an Indian colleague

e. alone

f. in a group (probe for combination of group)

12. When did you last talk to any of your neighbours?

a. Today

b. Yesterday

c. A few days ago

d. Last week

e. Can't remember

13. Do you and any of your neighbours go for picnics or holidays together?

a. Always

b. Sometimes

c. rarely

d. Never

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14.Do you and any of your neighbours from different ethnic groups go for picnics or holidays together?

a.Always

b.Sometimes

c.rarely

d.Never

15.Do you or your neighbours often exchange or borrow things from one another such as sugar, magazines,tools, dishes?

a.Always

b.Sometimes

c.Rarely

d.Never

16.Will you exchange or borrow things from your neighbour from another ethnic group?

a. Yes

b.No

c. Don't Know

17.Can you list 5 person and their ethnic group whom you consider the closest (the person you confide in times of needs) whom you are still keeping in touch (by face to face contact, mail,phone).

Relationship	Ethnic group	Place of residence

18. Please state your income per month

a. below RM 1000

b. between RM 1001-1500

c. between RM 1501-2000

d. between RM 2001-2500

e. between RM 2501 - 3000

f. above RM 3000

19. On the whole would you say that your knowledge on the culture and custom of the other ethnic groups in Malaysia as

a. very good

b. average

c. not good

d. none at all

PART C (given separately to the respondents after the end of Part B)

I would be very grateful if you can provide me with your honest opinion about a few statements regarding the ethnic relationships between ethnic groups. I understand that you may find some of the statements very sensitive. I would like to assure you that all responses will be treated with confidentiality and that it will only be used for statistical purposes. You will not, at any time, be identified.

Please tick the answers closest to how you are feeling at this very moment.

1a. In times of emergency, I will be very reluctant to leave my children in the care of my Malay/Chinese neighbour.

1b. In times of emergency, I do not mind leaving my children in the care of my Malay/Chinese neighbour

2a. I do not mind sharing an office space with a Malay/Chinese colleague

2b. I will be very reluctant to share an office space with a Malay/Chinese colleague

3a. I don't mind recommending a Malay/Chinese as a member of my social club/organisation.

3b. I will be very reluctant to recommend a Malay/Chinese as a member of my social club/organisation

4a. I don't mind living next door to a Malay/Chinese.

4b. I am very reluctant to live next door to a Malay/Chinese.

5a. I am very reluctant to share my table at a restaurant with a Malay/Chinese

5b. I don't mind sharing a table at a restaurant with a Malay/Chinese

6a. My children will have to marry someone from the same ethnic group

6b. My children can marry a Malay/Chinese

7a. I don't mind leaving my house keys to my Malay/Chinese neighbour in case of emergencies.

7b. I am very reluctant to leave my house keys to my Malay/Chinese neighbour in case of emergencies.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix D

THE STUDY AREA
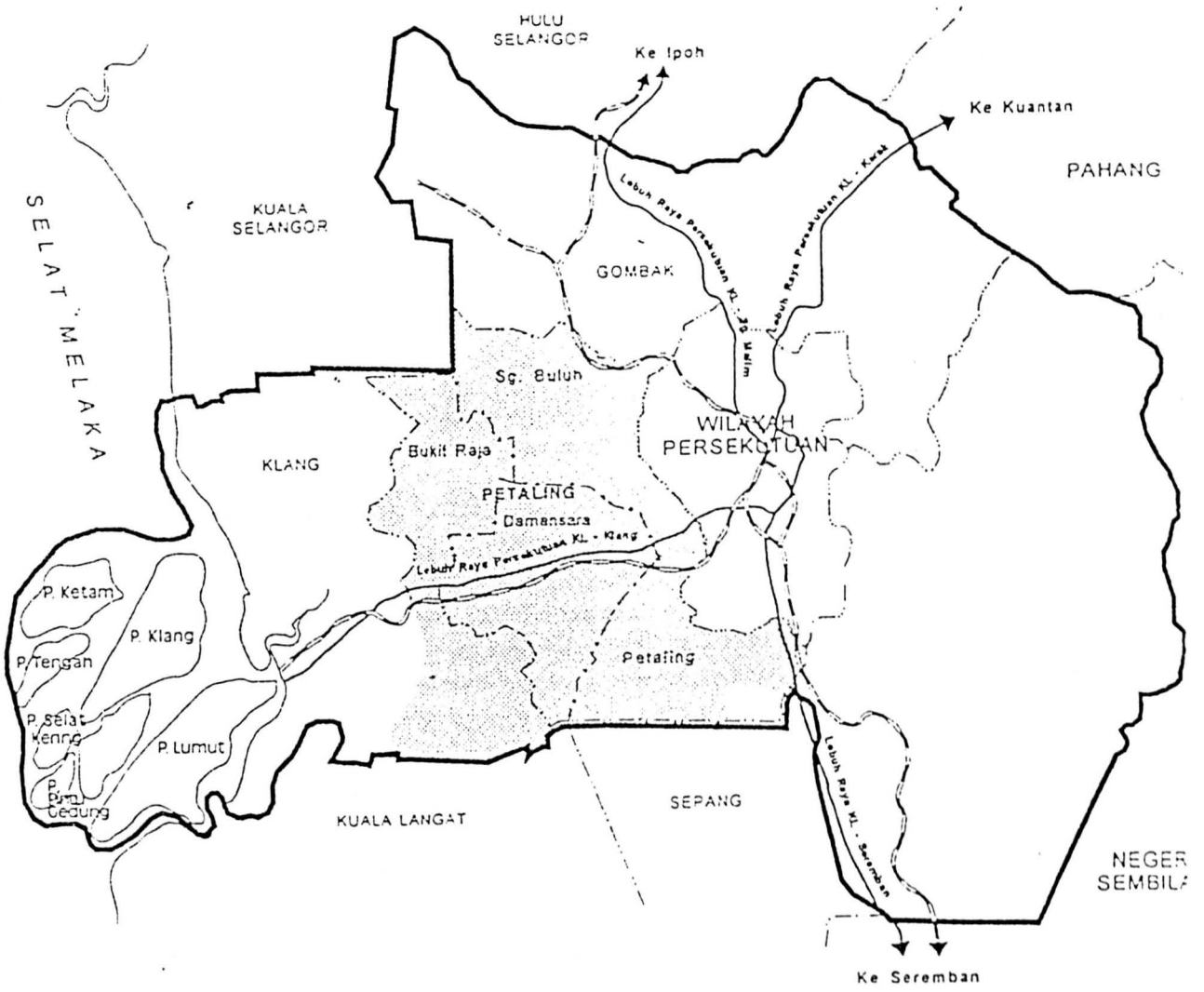
Appendix E

Part three - Socioeconomic Factors and Social Integration

9.4.1 Item 1 : Sharing a table with someone from another ethnic group

Age:

Table 9.23 Sharing a table by age

	Malays (%) n=146		Chnese (%) n=77	
	Don't mind n=88	Reluc tant n=58	Don't mind n=67	Reluc tant n=10
21-25	17.0	6.9	16.4	20.0
26-30	30.7	44.8	34.3	60.0
31-35	30.7	24.1	25.4	20.0
36-40	17.0	10.3	6.0	-
41-45	4.6	13.8	10.4	-
46-50	-	-	7.5	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level= 0.412		Chi-square: level= 0.538	
	p>0.05		p>0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Educational Level:

Table 9.24 Sharing a table by educational level

	Malays (%)		Chinese (%)	
	Don't mind n=88	Reluc-tant n=58	Don't mind n=67	Reluc-tant n=10
secon-dary	12.5	20.7	9.0	-
diploma	48.9	51.7	37.3	40.0
degree	38.6	27.6	53.7	60.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level= 0.248		Chi-square: level= 0.614	
	p>0.05		p>0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Type of employment:

Table 9.25 Sharing a table by type of employment

Types of employment	Malays(%) n=146		Chinese (%) n=77	
	Don't mind n=88	Reluctant n=58	Don't mind n=67	Reluctant n=10
Professional	28.4	27.6	34.3	-
Administration	25.0	17.2	10.4	60.0
clerical	23.9	41.4	17.9	20.0
sales	4.5	-	7.5	-
services	8.0	6.9	22.4	-
manufacturing	10.2	-	7.5	20.0
labour	-	6.9	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level= 0.0039 p<0.05		chi-square: level= 0.0009 p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Income:

Table 9.26 Sharing a table by income

Income	Malays (%)		Chinese (%)	
	Don't mind n=88	Reluc tant n=68	Don't mind n=57	Reluc tant n=10
below 1000	9.1	17.2	11.9	-
1001-1500	27.3	31.0	23.9	80.0
1501-2000	29.5	24.1	29.9	-
2001-2500	18.2	13.8	9.0	-
2501-3000	2.3	6.9	13.4	-
above 3000	13.6	6.9	11.9	20.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: level= 0.296 p>0.05		chi-square: level= 0.0079 p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Place of employment:

Table 9.27 Sharing a table by place of employment

Place of employment	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=88	Reluc tant n=68	Don't mind n=57	Reluc tant n=10
government	35.2	48.3	29.9	0
private	62.5	51.7	52.2	100.0
self-employed	2.3	0	17.9	0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: level= 0.175 p> 0.05		chi-square: level= 0.017 p< 0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

9.4.2 Item 2: Sharing an office space with someone from another ethnic group

Age:

Table 9.28 Sharing an office space by age

	Malays(%)		Chinese (%)	
	Don't mind n=119	Reluctant n=27	Don't mind n=60	Reluctant n=17
21-25	14.3	7.4	21.7	0
26-30	41.2	14.8	30.0	64.7
31- 35	23.5	48.1	21.7	35.3
36- 40	14.3	14.8	6.7	0
41 - 45	6.7	14.8	11.7	0
46-50	-	-	8.2	0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level=0.0213 p<0.05		Chi-square: level=0.0195 p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Educational level:

Table 9.29 Share an office space by educational level

	Malays(%)		Chinese (%)	
	Don't mind n=119	Reluctant n=27	Don't mind n=60	Reluctant n=17
secondary	16.8	11.1	10.0	0
diploma	47.9	59.3	36.7	41.2
degree	35.3	29.6	53.3	58.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level=0.541		Chi-square: level= 0.398	
	p>0.05		p>0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Type of employment:

Table 9.30 Share an office by type of employment

	Malays (%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=119	Reluctant n=27	Don't mind n=60	Reluctant n=17
Professional	24.4	44.4	28.3	35.3
Administration	23.5	14.8	15.0	23.5
clerical	32.8	22.2	23.3	0
sales	3.4	0	8.3	0
services	5.9	14.8	18.3	23.5
manufactu ring	6.7	3.7	6.7	17.6
labour	3.3	0	-	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level=0.163		chi-square: level=0.150	
	p>0.05		p>0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Income:

Table 9.31 Share an office space by income

	Malays (%)		Chinese (%)	
	Don't mind n=119	Reluctant n=27	Don't mind n=60	Reluctant n=17
below 1000	11.8	14.8	13.3	0
1001-1500	29.4	25.9	26.7	47.1
1501-2000	28.6	22.2	26.7	23.5
2001-2500	16.8	14.8	10.0	0
2501-3000	5.0	0	15.0	0
above 3000	8.4	22.2	8.3	29.4

	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square:		chi-square:	
	level=0.323		level= 0.0247	
	p>0.05		p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Place of employment:

Table 9.32 Share an office space by place of employment

	Malays(%)		Chinese (%)	
	Don't mind n=119	Reluctant n=27	Don't mind n=60	Reluctant n=17
government	34.5	66.7	23.3	35.3
private	65.5	25.9	61.7	47.1
self-employed	0	7.4	15.0	17.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: level= 0.0000 p<0.05		chi-square: level= 0.529 p>0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

9.4.3 Item 4: As a neighbour
Age:

Table 9.33 As a neighbour by age

	Malays (%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=98	Reluctant n=48	Don't mind n=56	Reluctant n=21
21-25	15.3	8.3	19.6	9.5
26-30	33.7	41.7	21.4	81.0
31-35	31.6	20.8	30.4	9.5
36-40	13.3	16.7	7.2	0
41-45	6.1	12.5	12.5	0
46-50	-	-	8.9	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level:0.291 p>0.05		Chi-square: level:0.0002 p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Educational level:

Table 9.34 As a neighbour by educational level

	Malays (%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=98	Reluctant n=48	Don't mind n=56	Reluctant n=21
secondary	17.3	12.5	10.7	0
diploma	54.1	41.7	42.9	23.8
degree	28.6	45.8	46.4	76.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level=0.117 p>0.05		Chi-square: level=0.045 p<0.05	

Source:Fieldwork,1997

Type of employment:

Table 9.35 As a neighbour by type of employment

	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=98	Reluctant n=48	Don't mind n=56	Reluctant n=21
professional/ technical	23.5	37.5	30.4	28.6
administration	22.4	20.8	8.9	38.1
clerical	31.6	29.2	25.0	0
sales	4.1	0	8.9	0
services	5.1	12.5	17.9	23.8
manufacturing	9.2	0	8.9	9.5
labour	4.1	0	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level=0.042 p<0.05		Chi-square: level=0.009 p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Income:

Table 9.36 As a neighbour by income

	Malays (%)		Chinese (%)	
	Don't mind n=98	Reluctant n=48	Don't mind n=56	Reluctant n=21
below 1000	14.3	8.3	5.4	23.8
1001-1500	28.6	29.2	28.6	38.1
1501-2000	24.5	33.3	30.4	14.3
2001-2500	18.4	12.5	10.7	0
2501-3000	2.0	8.3	16.1	0
above 3000	12.2	8.3	8.9	23.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: level=0.299		chi-square: level= 0.009	
	p>0.05		p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Place of employment:

Table 9.37 As a neighbour by place of employment

	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=98	Reluctant n=48	Don't mind n=56	Reluctant n=21
government	29.6	62.5	25.0	28.6
private	68.4	37.5	62.5	47.6
self-employed	2.0	0	12.5	23.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: level=0.0005		chi-square: level= 0.385	
	p<0.05		p>0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

9.4.4 Item 5: Leaving the house keys with a neighbour from another ethnic group

Age:

Table 9.38 Leaving the house keys by age

	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=82	Reluctant n=64	Don't mind n=22	Reluctant n=55
21-25	7.3	20.3	0	23.6
26-30	35.4	37.5	22.7	43.6
31-35	31.7	23.4	45.5	16.4
36-40	20.7	6.3	9.1	3.6
41-45	4.9	12.5	22.7	3.6
46-50	0	0	0	9.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level:0.0096 $p<0.05$		Chi-square: level:0.0006 $p<0.05$	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Educational Level:

Table 9.39 Leaving the house keys by educational level

	Malays(%)		Chinese (%)	
	Don't mind n=82	Reluctant n=64	Don't mind n=22	Reluctant n=55
secondary	4.9	29.7	0	10.9
diploma	53.7	45.3	22.7	43.6
degree	41.4	25.0	77.3	45.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level=0.0001 $p<0.05$		Chi-square: level= 0.281 $p>0.05$	

Source:Fieldwork,1997

Type of employment:

Table 9.40 Leaving the house keys by type of employment

	Malays(%)		Chinese (%)	
	Don't mind n=82	Reluctant n=64	Don't mind n=22	Reluctant n=22
professional/ technical	32.9	21.9	50.0	21.8
administration	24.4	18.8	9.1	20.0
clerical	29.3	32.8	9.1	21.8
sales	2.4	3.1	0	9.1
services	6.1	9.4	22.7	18.2
manufacturing	4.9	7.8	9.1	.9.1
labour	0	6.3	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level=0.2081		Chi-square: level= 0.1151	
	$p>0.05$		$p>0.05$	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Income:

Table 9.41 Leaving the house keys by income

	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=82	Reluctant n=64	Don't mind n=22	Reluctant n=55
below 1000	9.8	15.6	9.1	10.9
1001-1500	30.5	26.6	13.6	38.2
1501-2000	28.0	26.6	13.6	30.9
2001-2500	19.5	12.5	0	10.9
2501-3000	4.9	3.1	40.9	0
above 3000	7.3	15.6	22.7	9.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: level=0.437		chi-square: level=0.0000	
	$p>0.05$		$p<0.05$	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Place of employment:

Table 9.42 Leaving the house keys by place of employment

Place of employment	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=82	Reluctant n=64	Don't mind n=22	Reluctant n=55
government	42.7	37.5	45.5	18.2
private	57.3	59.4	45.5	63.6
self-employed	0	3.1	9.1	18.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: level= 0.243 p>0.05		chi-square: level= 0.045 p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

9.4.5 Item 6: Leave children in the care of neighbour from another ethnic group

Age:

Table 9.43 Leave children in the care by age

	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=50	Reluctant n=96	Don't mind n=12	Reluctant n=65
21-25	12.0	13.5	25.0	15.4
26-30	32.0	38.5	25.0	40.0
31-35	30.0	27.1	0	29.2
36-40	22.0	10.4	16.7	3.1
41-45	4.0	10.4	16.7	7.7
46-50	-	-	16.6	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level:0.261 p>0.05		Chi-square: level:0.043 p<0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Educational level:

Table 9.44 Leave children in the care by educational level

Level	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=50	Reluc tant n=96	Don't mind n=12	Reluc tant n=65
secondar y	8.0	19.8	25.0	4.6
diploma	56.0	46.9	50.0	35.4
degree	36.0	33.3	25.0	60.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level= 0.172 p>0.05		Chi-square: level= 0.016 p<0.05	

Source:Fieldwork,1997

Type of employment:
Table 9.45 Leave children in the care by type of employment

Type of employment	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=50	Reluctant n=96	Don't mind n=12	Reluctant n=65
professional	14.0	35.4	16.7	32.3
administration	32.0	16.7	8.3	18.5
clerical	32.0	30.2	16.7	18.5
sales	8.0	0	25.0	3.1
services	6.0	8.3	16.7	20.0
manufacturing	8.0	5.2	16.6	7.7
labour	0	4.2	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level= 0.0036 p<0.05		Chi-square: level= 0.078 p>0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Income:

Table 9.46 Leave children in the care by income

	Malays (%)		Chinese (%)	
	Don't mind n=50	Reluctant n=96	Don't mind n=12	Reluctant n=65
below 1000	12.0	12.5	16.7	9.2
1001-1500	34.0	26.0	0	36.9
1501-2000	34.0	24.0	58.3	20.0
2001-2500	4.0	22.9	0	9.2
2501-3000	8.0	2.1	16.7	10.8
above 3000	8.0	12.5	8.3	13.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: level=0.028 $p<0.05$		chi-square: level=0.03 $p<0.05$	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Place of employment:

Table 9.47 Leave children in the care by place of employment

Place of employment	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=50	Reluc tant n=96	Don't mind n=12	Reluc tant n=65
government	26.0	47.9	16.7	27.7
private	74.0	50.0	66.7	56.9
self-employed	0	2.1	16.6	15.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: level=0.01 $p<0.05$		chi-square: level=0.72 $p>0.05$	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

9.4.6 Item 7 : *Allowing your child to marry outside the ethnic group.*

Age:

Table 9.48 Allowing your child to marry by age

	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=82	Reluctant n=64	Don't mind n=22	Reluctant n=55
21-25	13.1	12.9	8.3	18.5
26-30	29.5	41.2	33.3	38.5
31-35	34.4	23.5	16.7	26.2

36-40	19.7	10.6	8.3	4.6
41-45	3.3	11.8	16.7	7.7
46-50	-	-	16.7	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level: 0.0921 p>0.05		Chi-square: level: 0.481 p>0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Educational level:

Table 9.49 Allowing your child to marry by educational level

Level	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=82	Reluc tant n=64	Don't mind n=22	Reluc tant n=55
secondary	13.1	17.6	0	9.2
diploma	47.5	51.8	33.3	38.5
degree	39.3	30.6	66.7	52.3
Total	100.0			
	Chi-square: level= 0.500 p>0.05		Chi-square: level= 0.458 p>0.05	

Source:Fieldwork,1997

Type of employment:

Table 9.50 Allowing your child to marry by type of employment

Type of employment	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=82	Reluctant n=64	Don't mind n=22	Reluctant n=55
professional	24.6	30.6	41.7	27.7
administration	26..2	18.8	16.7	16.9
clerical	24.6	35.3	8.3	20.0
sales	6.6	0	0	7.7
services	14.8	2.4	16.7	20.0
manufacturing	3.3	8.2	16.7	7.7

labour	0	4.7	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Chi-square: level= 0.003 $p<0.05$		Chi-square: level= 0.653 $p>0.05$	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Income:

Table 9.51 Allowing your child to marry by income

Income (RM)	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=82	Reluc tant n=64	Don't mind 22	Reluc tant n=55
below 1000	9.8	14.1	0	12.3
1001-1500	29.5	28.2	0	36.9
1501-2000	24.6	29.4	58.3	20.0
2001-2500	13.1	18.8	0	9.2
2501-3000	6.6	2.4	25.0	9.2
above 3000	16.4	7.1	16.7	12.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: level= 0.315 $p>0.05$		chi-square: level= 0.010 $p<0.05$	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Place of employment:

Table 9.52 Allowing your child to marry by place of employment

Place of employment	Malays(%)		Chinese(%)	
	Don't mind n=82	Reluc tant n=64	Don't mind n=22	Reluc tant n=55
government	34.4	44.7	16.7	27.7
private	62.3	55.3	83.3	53.8
self-employed	3.3	0	0	18.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	chi-square: level= 0.134 p>0.05		chi-square: level= 0.122 p>0.05	

Source: Fieldwork,1997

Appendix F

SOCDIST social distance
by AREAMX mixed area
  SEX   sex of respondents
  ETHNIC1 new ethnic grouping

Total Population
  4.22
(223)
AREAMX
    0   1
  3.96   4.47
(111) (112)
SEX
    1   2
  4.24   4.08
(198) (25)
ETHNIC1
    0   1
  3.88   4.40
(77) (146)

           SEX
           1   2
AREAMX
    0   4.00   3.81
       (90) (21)
    1   4.44   5.50
       (108) (4)

           ETHNIC1
           0   1
AREAMX
    0   3.58   4.21
       (43) (68)
    1   4.26   4.56
       (34) (78)

           ETHNIC1
           0   1
SEX
    1   4.02   4.33
       (58) (140)
    2   3.47   6.00
       (19) (6)

ETHNIC1 = 0
           SEX
           1   2
AREAMX
    0   3.69   3.41
       (26) (17)
    1   4.28   4.00
       (32) (2)

ETHNIC1 = 1
           SEX
           1   2

AREAMX
```
   0    4.13   5.50
     (  64) (   4)
   1    4.50   7.00
     (  76) (   2)
```

* * * A N A L Y S I S   O F   V A R I A N C E * * *
SOCDIST social distance
by AREAMX mixed area
SEX   sex of respondents
ETHNIC1 new ethnic grouping
EXPERIMENTAL sums of squares
Covariates entered FIRST

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig of F
Main Effects	27.071	3	9.024	2.989	.032
AREAMX	13.577	1	13.577	4.497	.035
SEX	1.536	1	1.536	.509	.476
ETHNIC1	12.578	1	12.578	4.166	.042
2-Way Interactions	19.136	3	6.379	2.113	.100
AREAMX SEX	.725	1	.725	.240	.625
AREAMX ETHNIC1	.199	1	.199	.066	.797
SEX ETHNIC1	14.058	1	14.058	4.656	.032
3-Way Interactions	.900	1	.900	.298	.586
AREAMX SEX ETHNIC1	.900	1	.900	.298	.586
Explained	47.108	7	6.730	2.229	.033
Residual	649.125	215	3.019		
Total	696.233	222	3.136		

* * * M U L T I P L E   C L A S S I F I C A T I O N   A N A L Y S I S * * *
SOCDIST social distance
by AREAMX mixed area
SEX   sex of respondents
ETHNIC1 new ethnic grouping
Grand Mean =   4.22

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted Dev'n	Eta	Adjusted for Independents Dev'n	Beta
AREAMX					
0 homogenous	111	-.26		-.26	
1 mixed	112	.25		.25	
			.14		.14
SEX					
1 male	198	.02		-.03	
2 female	25	-.14		.25	
			.03		.05
ETHNIC1					
0 chinese	77	-.34		-.34	
1 malay	146	.18		.18	
			.14		.14

Multiple R Squared   .039
Multiple R   .197
                *** C E L L   M E A N S ***
            SOCDIST   social distance
         by AREAMX   mixed area
            ETHNIC1   new ethnic grouping
            NEPAGE   age preNEP and post NEP
Total Population

   4.22
 (223)

AREAMX
     0   1
   3.96   4.47
 (111) (112)
ETHNIC1
     0   1
   3.88   4.40
 (77) (146)
NEPAGE
     1   2
   4.11   4.61
 (174) (49)

         ETHNIC1
             0   1
AREAMX
     0   3.58   4.21
       (43) (68)
     1   4.26   4.56
       (34) (78)

         NEPAGE
             1   2
AREAMX
     0   3.93   4.18
       (94) (17)
     1   4.33   4.84
       (80) (32)

         NEPAGE
             1   2
ETHNIC1
     0   3.56   5.13
       (61) (16)
     1   4.41   4.36
       (113) (33)

NEPAGE = 1
         ETHNIC1
             0   1
AREAMX
     0   3.39   4.26
       (36) (58)
     1   3.80   4.56
       (25) (55)

```
NEPAGE  = 2
     ETHNIC1
          0    1
AREAMX
     0   4.57  3.90
       (  7) (  10)
     1   5.56  4.57
       (  9) (  23)
```

*** ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ***

      SOCDIST social distance
  by AREAMX mixed area
      ETHNIC1 new ethnic grouping
      NEPAGE age preNEP and post NEP

EXPERIMENTAL sums of squares
Covariates entered FIRST

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig of F
Main Effects	31.843	3	10.614	3.567	.015
AREAMX	9.307	1	9.307	3.128	.078
ETHNIC1	10.961	1	10.961	3.684	.056
NEPAGE	6.308	1	6.308	2.120	.147
2-Way Interactions	24.608	3	8.203	2.757	.043
AREAMX ETHNIC1	.275	1	.275	.092	.762
AREAMX NEPAGE	1.655	1	1.655	.556	.457
ETHNIC1 NEPAGE	22.619	1	22.619	7.602	.006
3-Way Interactions	.090	1	.090	.030	.862
AREAMX ETHNIC1 NEPAGE	.090	1	.090	.030	.862
Explained	56.541	7	8.077	2.715	.010
Residual	639.692	215	2.975		
Total	696.233	222	3.136		

*** MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS ***

      SOCDIST social distance
  by AREAMX mixed area
      ETHNIC1 new ethnic grouping
      NEPAGE age preNEP and post NEP
Grand Mean = 4.22

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted Dev'n	Eta	Adjusted for Independents Dev'n	Beta
AREAMX					
0 homogenous	111	-.26		-.21	
1 mixed	112	.25		.21	
			.14		.12
ETHNIC1					
0 chinese	77	-.34		-.31	
1 malay	146	.18		.16	
			.14		.13

NEPAGE
1 below 35 years	174	-.11	-.09
2 above 35 years	49	.39	.32
		.12	.10

Multiple R Squared	.046
Multiple R	.214

Appendix G

**** M U L T I P L E   R E G R E S S I O N ****

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Mean Std Dev Label

```
SOCDIST  4.219  1.802  social distance
AREAMX    .512   .501  mixed area
ETHNIC1   .670   .471  new ethnic grouping
MIXERS    .223   .417  mixers and non mixers
NEPAGE   1.228   .420  age preNEP and post NEP
INCOMEH   .191   .394  high income group
INCOMEL   .400   .491  low income group
INCOMEM   .409   .493  middle income group
NWEMPLY  2.930   .320  new category of employment
PLACEMP  1.660   .530  place of employment
PROC1     .367   .483  2 category of proc
PROM1     .744   .437  2 category of prom
NTKNBR    .749   .435  NEW CATEGORY FOR TALK TO NEIGHBOUR
EDUCATE   .874   .332  educated and low education
```

N of Cases = 215

Equation Number 1   Dependent Variable..   SOCDIST   social distance

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise   Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000
AREAMX ETHNIC1 MIXERS NEPAGE INCOMEH INCOMEL INCOMEM NWEMPLY
PLACEMP PROC1   PROM1   NTKNBR   EDUCATE

Step	MultR	Rsq	F(Eqn)	SigF		Variable	BetaIn
1	.2765	.0765	17.638	.000	In:	MIXERS	.2765
2	.3291	.1083	12.878	.000	In:	PROM1	.1796
3	.3881	.1506	12.475	.000	In:	PLACEMP	.2263
4	.4154	.1726	10.951	.000	In:	ETHNIC1	.1558
5	.4383	.1921	9.941	.000	In:	AREAMX	.1501

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
 5..   AREAMX   mixed area

```
Multiple R        .43832
R Square          .19213
Adjusted R Square  .17280
Standard Error    1.63872
```

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	5	133.47679	26.69536
Residual	209	561.24879	2.68540

F =   9.94092   Signif F = .0000

Equation Number 1   Dependent Variable.. SOCDIST   social distance

-------------------------- Variables in the Equation ------------------------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Tolerance	VIF	T
AREAMX	.539618	.240003	.150055	.867826	1.152	2.248
ETHNIC1	.612039	.250049	.160127	.903185	1.107	2.448
MIXERS	1.286654	.274767	.298068	.954030	1.048	4.683
PLACEMP	.886280	.235174	.260923	.806369	1.240	3.769
PROM1	.792238	.301142	.192296	.723471	1.382	2.631
(Constant)	1.184133	.562822			2.104	

Variable	Sig T
AREAMX	.0256
ETHNIC1	.0152
MIXERS	.0000
PLACEMP	.0002
PROM1	.0092
(Constant)	.0366

------------------------ Variables not in the Equation ----------------------

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Tolerance	VIF	Min Toler	T	Sig T
NEPAGE	.082651	.087162	.898468	1.113	.723456	1.262	.2084
INCOMEH	-.022420	-.023119	.859044	1.164	.717604	-.334	.7391
INCOMEL	-.004043	-.004114	.836544	1.195	.715788	-.059	.9527
INCOMEM	.019457	.021255	.964014	1.037	.722905	.307	.7594
NWEMPLY	-.002739	-.002898	.904432	1.106	.698070	-.042	.9667
PROC1	.071284	.064992	.671545	1.489	.654087	.939	.3487
NTKNBR	-.030437	-.032454	.918475	1.089	.720238	-.468	.6401
EDUCATE	.083860	.087421	.877944	1.139	.716004	1.266	.2071

Collinearity Diagnostics

Number	Eigenval	Cond Index	Variance Proportions Constant	AREAMX	ETHNIC1	MIXERS	PLACEMP	PROM1
1	4.30374	1.000	.00200	.01457	.01217	.01184	.00333	.00846
2	.78208	2.346	.00010	.04156	.01423	.83397	.00010	.00067
3	.42584	3.179	.00418	.65733	.07850	.04154	.02515	.00624
4	.28467	3.888	.01106	.02714	.47027	.01756	.09052	.06488
5	.17754	4.924	.00098	.22582	.37218	.08365	.00290	.68020
6	.02613	12.834	.98169	.03357	.05265	.01144	.87799	.23956

End Block Number 1 PIN =   .050 Limits reached.